

WOODHULL & CLARLIN'S WEEKLY.

PROGRESS! FREE THOUGHT! UNTRAMMELED LIVES!

BEAKING THE WAY FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.

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PRICE FIVE CENTS.

TO THE FRIENDS OF FREEDOM

THROUGHOUT THE

UNITED STATES, CANADA AND ENGLAND.

On account of the very extraordinary and widespread demand which has sprung up for the WEEKLY since we began the exposure of the enormous frauds and villainies which are practiced upon the people, under the authority and countenance of Government, by soulless corporations and organized monopolies; and the still more extraordinary demand since it has come to be recognised that the movement inaugurated in Congress the past winter is, when consummated, to accomplish the elevation of woman to equality with men; all of which, in connection with our desire to give the people of this country what they have long been thirsting for—AN ORGAN FOR FREE SPEECH—has induced us to reduce the price of

THE WEEKLY TO TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM; so that it may come within the means of every family in the country.

We trust that the friends of "Equality for Woman" and of such reform in government as shall restore it to the people by wresting it from the hands of the politicians, who are the hired or purchased slaves of the growing Money-Power of the country, which is scheming to usurp our liberties, will spread far and wide the announcement we here make.

The WEEKLY will always treat, from the standard of principles, all subjects which are of

VITAL INTEREST TO THE COMMON PEOPLE.

It will be, in the broadest sense,

A FREE PAPER FOR A FREE PEOPLE,

in which all sides of all subjects may be presented to the public, so that they may decide for themselves what is the best truth, instead of, as heretofore, being told authoritatively that this and that are thus and so.

The editors will always reserve the right to make such editorial comment, as they may deem proper, upon all communications, but will not be held responsible for opinions expressed otherwise than editorially, whether comment is made or not. All articles without signature are editorial, and are not to be considered as the expression of editorial opinion.

Here, then, is a platform upon which

THE REPUBLICAN AND THE DEMOCRAT,

THE RADICAL AND THE CONSERVATIVE,

THE CHRISTIAN AND THE INFIDEL,

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC AND THE PROTESTANT,

THE JEW AND THE PAGAN, AND

THE MATERIALIST AND THE SPIRITUALIST,

may meet in a common equality and brotherhood, which, we believe, is literally true of the human race, since

GOD IS THE COMMON FATHER OF ALL.

A NEW THEORY OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

[From the N. Y. Globe.]

The late Woman Suffrage Convention at Apollo Hall revealed an unexpected importance in the Woodhull movement for suffrage under the Constitution, and developed the fact that it may play a leading part in next year's Presidential contest. The bold declaration of Frank Blair (who furnished in his Broadhead letter the real platform of the Democracy in 1868), in the Senate last month, that it might yet be needed to deprive the negroes of suffrage; the failure of the Democratic Congressional Address to advise that party to submit to the recent amendments to the Constitution; Vallandigham's careful avoidance in his "New Departure" platform of all admission of the legality of those amendments, or their practical

ULTIMATUM

OF THE

NATIONAL WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION,

EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL CITIZENS

UNDER OUR PRESENT GOVERNMENT; OR, A

New Rebellion and a New Government

WHICH SHALL SECURE THEM.

enforcement; the *World's* charge against Grant of "packing" the Supreme Court on the Legal Tender case, and its reserved promise that the party will respect the amendments so long as that court sustains them; all show what may be expected if the Democracy get the power to make more judges of the Supreme Court, as Congress and the President can do. Even less than this would answer the purpose, as a Democratic House of Representatives could cut off all appropriations for enforcing the amendments.

This being the case, the effect of the Woodhull claim is to array the force of the woman suffrage movement on the side of the Republican party, which passed and upholds the amendments. There is no doubt that this is one reason why the claim made such an impression on Congress. Mrs. Woodhull having first boldly entered the field as a candidate, and then shown her powers by forcing Congress to respect the subject, has concentrated on herself enough of the woman suffrage influence to make it seriously possible that she may dictate terms to the Republican party. Having stated at Apollo Hall that she was not a candidate from personal ambition, she might well withdraw in favor of Grant on condition that the Republicans pass her declaratory act next winter, and thus enable all her followers to vote and work for him, or, failing this, put it in their platform next year. Or she might even dictate the nomination of General Butler, whose shrewdness led him to take the lead in upholding her claims in Congress. Should all the eloquent and noble writers and speakers who are devoted to the movement plunge into the canvass on the same side (Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony being now zealous supporters of the amendments whose adoption they opposed), a new aspect will be given to the matter. At present things drift that way.

SEND IN THE NAMES.

Congress has been memorialized to pass a "Declaratory Act" forever settling the Constitutional equality of all persons who are made citizens by the Constitution. Two reports from the Judiciary Committee have been made upon the memorial.

The majority report admits that women are citizens, but declines to recommend that they be protected in the full exercise of the rights of citizenship. The minority report refutes the fallacious positions of the majority, and recommends that Congress pass the required Act.

There is but one thing wanting to secure such action as

every lover of equality must desire, and that is to pour in upon Congress such a mass of names as will convince them that the people really desire and will sustain them in securing equal rights to all citizens of the United States. Every one who reads this should constitute him or herself a committee of one to obtain all the names possible as signers to the petition below, and mail the same to Mrs. Josephine S. Griffing, Washington, D. C., Secretary to The National Woman Suffrage and Educational Committee:

To the Congress of the United States:

We, the undersigned, citizens of the United States, being fully convinced that under the original Constitution of the United States, and by the provisions of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, women citizens are entitled to vote, do most earnestly request your Honorable Body to pass a Declaratory Bill that shall guarantee to them the full exercise of their right to the elective franchise in all the States and Territories of the Union.

The woman suffrage movement in England has more strength than is generally supposed. The London Correspondent of the Cincinnati *Gazette*, referring to a recent imposing demonstration in behalf of the cause, says:

"The women who spoke were women of power. Foremost among them stood Miss Lydia Becker—tall, composed, with a large, frank, open face, kindly, yet resolute. She unrolled a petition, which is to be presented to Mr. Gladstone next Wednesday, which she said would reach from end to end of the room twice over, and contained 2,400 names, among them were the names of some of the highest born and most illustrious philanthropy of the women of England. Miss Becker, who has won her M.D. in spite of every obstacle and opposition, has also won a high place among the influential minds of England, and if she sat in the House of Commons, and even on the Treasury Bench, she would then and there, I am sure, command as much respect as she does in her present sphere. Indeed there is one concession, which every opposing newspaper makes, and that is, that the speaking ability of these leaders of the woman suffrage movement is far superior to that of M. P.'s. One of them preaded yesterday, and his limping, stammering elocution presented a marked contrast to the smooth and elegant flow of Mrs. Garrett Paver's elocution. Mrs. Fawcett is the wife of Professor Fawcett, M.P., and the sister of Mrs. Garrett Anderson, who was known and very recently and is better known as Miss Garrett. Mrs. Garrett, wife of the historian, was to have presided, but was prevented by the illness of her husband. Miss Taylor said she had tenants who, notwithstanding their ignorance, could vote, while she, notwithstanding her own ignorance, could not vote, while she, notwithstanding her own ignorance, could not vote. Miss Taylor, is, I believe, the stepdaughter of J. Stuart Mill.

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE MEETING.

The New York Woman's Suffrage Association met on Friday afternoon, May 20, at the corner of Sixth street and Union square. Mrs. De Lozier being present. Mrs. Somerville presided.

Mrs. Hallock opened the proceedings with a reference to the great success of the Convention at Apollo Hall. Brief speeches were made by Dr. Hooleer, Mrs. Barlow, Webster and Blake.

Dr. Mary Walker, of Washington, attracted much attention as she entered the room. She is a graceful and pretty person, and her costume, a *l'Amazone*, is much neater and more tasteful than the somewhat *outré* Bloomer, reminding one of the pictures of the noted reformer, Helen Mary Weber, an Englishwoman of great beauty and fortune, who always attired herself in male costume, and argued that nature had made sufficient differences in the personal appearance of the sexes, and that, therefore, they should dress alike.

Mrs. Walker spoke very warmly of the necessity of recognizing all women on the Woman's Rights platform. The movement was for those who needed their rights, not for those who had already all the goods of this world. If a woman came from Green street, or from the lowest slums of the city, to the New York Suffrage Club, if she were the vilest of the vile, they were bound to treat her with all the courtesy they would show to the purest. If they refused to do this they only degraded themselves. She commended that those who were called free-lovers, were more important to the cause than those who drew their garments aside, and pretended to be afraid of the contamination of their presence.

Mrs. Walker concluded by calling upon Mrs. Frances Rose Mackinley, who spoke as follows:

DEAR FRIENDS—Each new advance in reform leads to another; this is not recognized by those whose souls have been attracted into reform movements by motives of ambition, or a selfish discontent; and not by a true love of humanity and its progress. Woman's suffrage is the next step that the race will take in its march toward its Promethean fortune; but are we to stop there? Woman's Rights include the political in the larger field of their claim to perfect equality with man, legally and socially. The ballot we shall undoubtedly obtain; but that is but a means to the attainment of that larger way, which shall make the better part of woman's nature predominate in the future organizations of the race. The path to the future millennium, it must be now apparent to every large-minded observer, lies through the development of the woman's side of human nature; the male side having exhausted itself in the attributes of force, cunning and material ingenuity, which are all that the Jupiters of our modern civilization display. But where are the women who are to aid in accomplishing this destiny? Are they among those who come here to discuss private character, and imitate the tea-fights of the pious church-women of the day, who sometimes scandalize, and sometimes tease?

Among the advocates of woman's suffrage, there are many in whom the spirit of cavil predominates over the love of the cause, and who spend more time in strictures of individuals than in devotion to principle. Of late, there has been a great deal of this; nor is it the first time, as I have learned, that prejudices like these have awakened discontent. About two years ago, two ladies, who joined the Suffrage Bureau, with a true and determined purpose of labor in the cause, found themselves subjected to a great deal of scandal, disseminated by some prominent members of that body. Innocent incidents in the private lives of these ladies were sought out maliciously, and detailed as disgraceful occurrences; and it was decided by the scandal-mongers, that such persons were unworthy to be members of the bureau. These ladies, finding themselves persecuted and condemned by their associates, remembered, in self-defense, that it is always the greatest sinner who is the promptest in accusing his neighbor, and succeeded in bringing to the notice of their revilers, some events in their own lives, which convinced them, that those in glass houses, should not throw stones. It is very amusing to relate that this necessary defence proved so formidable, that from contumely, the conduct of the accusers turned to suavity and gracious courtesy.

I would tell the ladies engaged in this cause that, not only is it weak and narrow, and a proof of a lack of virtue, to employ themselves in scandal, but, in the score of their own selfish interests, it is unwise. At our late Suffrage Convention, a prominent worker in this cause desired to have it understood, that she did not endorse Mrs. Woodhull, who, by her brave consistency in recognizing the real tendencies of the age, has proved herself one of its greatest women, and a true leader in the cause of freedom. "Beware," answered a lady to her, "how you speak of Mrs. Woodhull, lest others seek to know your own record!" I must add, that the censorious lady is a very charming, and highly intellectual person, but would be quite unwilling to leave some of the incidents of her life exposed to society's narrow bigotries.

I regret that Mrs. Woodhull, after so great a triumph at Washington, should not have called a convention of her own. My advice to so brave and earnest a lady is to beware of female politicians. A lady friend informed me that one of the leaders of that convention had said to her, "Mrs. Woodhull has money and influence, and we must make use of everything to serve our purposes."

I assure you there is hardly a prominent worker in this direction, whose private character I have not heard discussed, and, according to the world's opinion, disparagingly. I have not cared to retain any memory of the particulars of such scandal, but, hereafter, I shall note such things, to be used as reminders to those who are unmerciful toward others. A lady said to me, that since charity and love seemed to have so little effect, she was determined to treat detractors with detraction, and abuse with abuse. To this, however, I object, since it would be but to add to the discords which already distract our councils.

Stephen Pearl Andrews has been working for years for woman's emancipation. When our Suffrage Bureau first opened in this city, he received a letter requesting him to remain absent from it. Ingrates! the man whom you to-day fear as demoralizing, will be revered and loved by your sons and daughters. The future has so much of good in store for him, he can well afford to wait.

I am fully aware that my private life has been canvassed by my sister workers. When will people learn that the private character is sacred to the individual; between God and each human soul? I have no doubt that all that has been said of me has a foundation in truth; nor have I ever done anything that I am not willing the whole world should know. A great deal has been reported to me that I have never evaded nor denied, replying to most of these accusations,

"I am true," I have but one guide in action. I do not think it right, without regard to the opinion of others, believing the human being can do only in their own way. In a suffrage movement, it is only necessary for one of our set to be acknowledged as a "free-lover," to be met with indifference, or with the Pharisaical contempt of pretended virtue. At our convention I met several prominent ladies, who treated me with civil civility. Because, no doubt, they accounted me a "free-lover." Fellow laborers in the cause of human progress, let me assure you that, with all my heart and soul, I believe in the worth of the application of free-love, and am willing to be eternally a martyr in the cause of freedom and of love.

When insulted, I remember the indignities heaped upon those who have dared the Daguerre sword of responsibility and conservatism in the cause of man or woman. I remember Confucius chased from one part of China to another, and now worshipped as a god; Socrates rewarded with a cup of hemlock for teaching wisdom to the Greeks; Jean Jacques Rousseau mobbed in the streets; Voltaire imprisoned; Shelley, the immortal thinker and poet, and sublime defender of free-love, expelled from an English university, and disowned by his father; and a host of other martyrs to truth and liberty.

Enjoying in my own person that freedom, I can bear with a tranquil spirit its concomitants of social ostracism and petty abuse, fortunately the only weapon—pastboard ones at least—left to the crucifiers of the day; and pity those who are cribbed in social forms, that, as Carlyle says, bind them up into the pitifullest, strait-laced commonplace existence.

I have often thought how little women are prepared for the use of the ballot, fettered, as they are, by silly prejudice and social bigotry. A so-called erring sister, in whom great nature's impulse has been stronger than faith or custom, or "lovely error grown holy by traditionary dullness," would meet, if brought before a tribunal of ordinary women, with harder sentence than men would inflict. The "unco guid and rigidly righteous," are those who sin privately, and damn publicly.

In the cause of reform, we women must meet and work together, as do men in business or politics, who look steadily at the object they have in view, and forego all personal feelings in the triumph of its attainment. When men join together in a cause the question among them is, not as to each individual's social relations and character, but whether he will be an earnest worker, faithful to the principles involved, and no one imagines as to how many wives he has had, or how many mistresses he keeps.

Men of the world, no matter what may be their ill-considered opinions, concede to each other perfect freedom of action in relation to our sex; and editors who write sententiously on the holiness of marriage, or congressmen who pour out their eloquence on the horrors of Mormonism, are without honor or principle in their free intercourse with women, while the much-abused free-lover never profanes the sanctity of true love by degrading it into mere sensuality.

Until women are as far-seeing as men in this respect, and meet together, just as they do, with a definite purpose, there will always be jealousy, dissension and discord in their ranks.

We are rushing forward to reform the world, and have not yet reformed ourselves. We appear upon the rostrum to speak the most beautiful and grandest of truths, while displaying in our treatment of our neighbors the lowest and pitifullest malignity.

Let reformers agree among themselves! and if the world for which they are working, slanders them, it is not for them to grow vexed and intemperate, professing to be possessed of more virtue and development; it is for them to exercise charity and all those virtues which are the armor of the spirit who seeks truth and humanity.

Let us unite in sisterly love and charity, working with all our might for our enslaved sex and for all humanity. If you think I am really and grievously sinning, counsel with me in secret. In love and charity let us bear with each other! On the great question of suffrage we are one. For that we may fight hand in hand and heart in heart.

In this age of free thought there is room enough for all forms and moods of endeavor; and the greatest of crimes, it will be finally considered, is want of respect for the opinions and rights of your neighbors.

J. W. N.

RADICAL ORGANIZATION

The interests of humanity demand at the present time, more than anything else, that the radical elements of the country be organized. The times are propitious for such a movement. The conservative forces are in about the same condition that the South was when Gen. Sherman started on his "march to the sea." Thousands in the political and religious parties are becoming discontented in their present confinement and are at heart in sympathy with the progressive movements of the day. All that is necessary to engage them in humanitarian work and reformatory movements is a prospect of co-operation and success.

The people are becoming inspired by the true spirit of the Declaration of Independence. They long for political and religious liberty. They have outgrown the old order of things and are about to demand their birthright.

The contest of arms in this country has ceased, but a more desperate contest in the sphere of morals and religion is being fought out. A contest between the old and the new; between the spirit of the past and present age.

The inspired men and women of to-day know how the battle must terminate. When it will terminate they are not prepared to say but as to the final success of free principals they entertain no doubts.

The great trouble heretofore has been that the liberal forces have not been organized, whereas, the conservatives in Church and State have had the most perfect organization. Therefore the liberals have fought under great disadvantage and had it not been that truth and justice were on their side they never could have accomplished what they have.

The churches and present political parties claim that they have God on their side; but the God they worship being a mere idol we have nothing to fear from him. The God of Justice that we serve is much more than a match for the Orthodox Triune God assisted by the Orthodox Devil. What we have to fear is numbers, ignorance, intolerance and superstition and a perfect organization.

What we must bring against this force is love, justice, intelligence, and an organization better adapted to this moral warfare.

But how shall the liberal forces be organized? That is the important question at the present time. One thing is very evident, the old forms are not adapted to our work. We

must not put the new wine into the old bottles. We have no use for priests, pulpits and conventional services. We must dispense in our political movements with the corrupt caucus system, and political wire-pulling.

We must adopt a form of organization that will restrict the right of free speech or free action. There must be no synods or councils to take charge of conscience. Perfect liberty must be the constitution, and the only one adopted by our organization. The "Brotherhood of Man," (including woman), must be our watchword, and our rallying cry, "Infinite Progression." Believing our principles to be correct, we will be justified in presenting them to the public, and in taking all honorable means to promulgate them. But we must disfellowship no one on account of his or her most convictions.

As we claim the largest liberty for ourselves, we must grant the same liberty to others. All we can ask is a free intercourse of opinions. No statement of belief should be adopted as a test of membership. All honest seekers after truth, all lovers of humanity, and all who are willing to follow truth wherever it may lead them, are qualified to become members of the Liberal Organization.

These organizations should be formed in every town, village and city in this country. Great numbers should not be a requisite for organization.

Two or three are sufficient where no more can be formed. The articles of association should be very simple. The more so the better. But a few officers are required. A president, a recording and corresponding secretary, and a treasurer. Possibly a finance committee. The object should be to encourage the freest expression of opinion upon religious, political, moral, and scientific questions, and to engage in every work of reform, that has for its object the improvement of the human family.

In these organizations all honest reformers should unite, and the opinions of each class should be respected. All who favor and are prepared to defend a free platform, should be invited to become members.

But how shall these organizations originate? The plan I would suggest is this: Let the reader of this article, or any other person who is convinced of the necessity of such organizations, immediately insert a notice in the village or city paper in which they reside, requesting all persons who desire to form a Radical Club in the village or city for free discussion and reformatory work to meet at Room No. —, in a place designated, on some evening, for the purpose of organization.

Before the time this person should speak to all the residents of his acquaintance, requesting them to be present.

At the time and place designated, those who meet, be they few or many, should at once form an organization and cause their articles of association and the names of their officers to be published in their local papers, stating, also, at what time the club had adjourned, and also requesting all who favor the movement to meet them at the adjourned meeting. In this manner, in nearly every town in the United States a Radical Club can be formed.

Then it may be asked, what work should they first engage in? That will be a question for each club to decide for itself, according to circumstances. If the club has the disposition, it will find work enough to do. A very important thing for its prosperity would be to put a Radical paper into the hands of every one in the community who would read it. There are a large number of such now published, viz.: *WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY*, *Tilton's Golden Age*, *Albert's Index*, *Powell's National Standard*, *The Revolution*, *The Woman's Journal*, *The Radical*, *Woman's Examiner*, *The Banner of Light*, the *Boston Investigator* and others of the same liberal character. All these are earnest co-operators in the work of progress, and represent the different branches of the Radical party. They all are advocates of human rights. Persons who are in sympathy with the views advocated by either of these papers should belong to these clubs.

Then, in places where it is practicable, public reading-rooms should be opened, free to all. This room may be the one in which the club meets. Then there should be weekly meetings for free discussion. Subjects that have never before been discussed in the community may here be brought up for consideration. Temperance, Woman's Rights, Human Rights, the Question of Capital and Labor, Church and State, the Bible in our Public Schools, Marriage and Divorce, Free Religion; and, in fact, every question that affects the welfare of man should be freely discussed by these clubs. The church organizations in the past and at the present time have and are exerting all their power to save mankind from a future hell. These organizations should direct their labors to this long-neglected world and do all in their power to save mankind from present hells that are to be found in this world. As the churches have taken the future world into their especial keeping, the liberal organizations should make this world their especial field of labor. There is work enough for us here as yet; when this world is perfectly re-deemed, we can turn our attention to some other.

If one thousand such organizations were in working order to-day, how much they could accomplish. Those strong in numbers could encourage and assist the weaker ones, and together they could roll on the cause of progress more rapidly than it has ever moved before. Such organizations must be put into the field. And the work should commence immediately.

Friends of progress and of religious and political liberty, let us move forward. Let us everywhere organize! organize! organize! and prepare for the grand conflict of ideas that is upon us.

H. L. G.

BAD VERSUS GOOD GOVERNMENT.

Democratic Political Reconstruction the Precursor of Universal Co-operation.

Mrs. Editors of Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly:

As some of the views of Government presented in a series of articles from my pen, which were printed in *THE WEEKLY* a few weeks since, do not now seem to me wholly correct, an explanation is, perhaps, due to its readers; not that my opinion is of any value in itself, but that Truth, at least, is common property, and no man may rightfully monopolize it. This explanation would, also, seem to be required from the circumstance that at the recent convention of the New England Labor Reform League, held in this city, certain resolutions and an address on this subject offered by myself, were not so fully reported as they should have been. My object, then, in this communication is simply to re-

It may be said, indeed, that some thing will be required to

A very decided improvement is noted in the general sanitary condition of these women since the law went into force, and this, too, aside entirely from what is shown to have taken place in regard to diseases of a strictly specific character. This beneficial result is mainly due to the good influence exerted by the medical examiners. These gentlemen from time to time make such suggestions and proffer such advice as in their judgment will tend most to conduce to the health and well-being of this self-ostracised class; self-ostracised because of the 947 registered from July 25, 1871, to March 25, 1871, 702 of them entered upon this mode

This is the species of reform toward which the whole social movement is tending, and if Miss Chaffin can inaugurate this indispensable reform she will stand prominently above the generality of her sex, and her name will occupy the loftiest niche in the tableau of fame.

MARRIAGE THE GREATEST EVIL OF THE AGE.

AN APPEAL TO MY COUNTRYWOMEN.

Fashion's justice halts, partially; its mercy is strained; its love is false; truth finds no lodgment of fair principle in its logic. Holiest impulses are too much dominated by the soul-narrowing prejudice of worldly cant. Honesty too much shrinks abashed from before the frowning visage of brazen effrontery of all sorts. Since Paradise was lost, good has grown only from a knowledge of evil. To understand Satan is to know God.

Though cowards quake and fools asperse, there is a noble dignity in the fearless aim that utters truths to benefit mankind.

Nothing is so base as falsehood, lived or uttered.

The soul cannot grow toward God except from the soil of truth. Understood nature is that soil.

It is manifestly wrong to create and perpetuate any law, system or custom, that can make the needs for the happiness of humanity degenerate into a blight, and a degradation, and a curse. God instituted no such law, but man has, and perpetuated it, while Heaven has been a silent but an avenging witness; for society is rotten at heart, and marriage become more a reproach than a blessing.

In the scriptural sense, adultery is all kinds of lewdness and disobedience to God. Within the marriage ordinances and rites, there is more of this in than out of them. With buying and selling, both in marriage and out of it, lust and license have abolished love.

Love, being identified by the soul, is ordained of God; therefore it is impossible it can err.

There are two kinds of love, friendship love and sexual love. Sexual love refines and enlarges, and develops and stimulates every faculty of the mind, and is naturally as mutable in one sex as in the other. Friendship love alone is permanent, and is the soul's sole anchorage, but this kind of love should not have issue.

Love is the twin aspiration of piety, and should be to the soul and conscience as sacred, and as free from State control and social meddling, as religious worship itself. Nature should be stronger than unholy trammels.

Unshackle human blisses, and vile intrigue will love its most potent fascinations; and there will grow a healthy disgust that will build up a sounder virtue than the world has yet known.

To torture a pure, natural affection is not virtue.

Union in love's fondness does not necessarily swallow

up all a woman's individual identity, any more than all a man's identity as an individual.

Fashion lets assassins into love's sanctuary. The vulgar intimacies that wedded life necessitate are death to that refined sentiment which vitalizes love.

Mankind live too much in the grossness of nature. Ideality, imagination, sentiment—the female element—would have freer scope for their divinely-given influence.

Marriage is either a vain struggle for heaven, or a winning rush for hell, because friendship love and sexual love very rarely combine in one person; and for those exceedingly rare natures of life-long constancy to one object, *in feeling as well as in conduct*, no legal bonds are needed; and should never be imposed on the fickle. When they are, murderous crimes often follow.

Circumstances, more frequently than otherwise, mould the mind and change the passions. Then what folly to have no recompensing philosophy.

If self-abnegation, patient suffering and personal sacrifice, are such heavenly qualities, *woman should not monopolize them.*

The present family system is prolific of that selfishness which sins against Christianity.

The maintenance and education of children could be as easily adjusted without marriage, and the law of property more justly defined.

The marriage institution, with its tyrannical conditions and perilous restraints, has sown broadcast upon society the worst evils of life; and all the philosophies that have yet contended with the "social evil" have not decreased its virulence or extent; and none ever can, until men and women are held equal in all of life's honors and debasements, emoluments and ambitions.

It is criminal nonsense to sigh piteously over the trampled-in-the-dirt women who "once were as pure as the beautiful snow," while, at the same time, we let the godless trampers go unwhipped of justice or unscorned by contempt. The majority of men will yield no justice undemanded or ungrasped, nor grant a mercy not absolutely wrung from them! Pity and "protect" yourselves.

Men's right of might divides women into two classes: to one they give mocking, empty titles, upon the other they cast shame.

The marriage contract binds equally the man and the woman; but husbands, by violating the "sacred compact," render it invalid; and in these fast-multiplying instances women bear the whole worst burden of discomfort and disgrace. The polluting current of falsehood and treachery surging to and from this "sacred institution" (?) must surfeit even his satanic majesty.

It is impossible to educate honor into mankind until woman is justly acknowledged the sovereign first in nature. The only natural objection to this is composed of man's arro-

gance and presumption, strengthened in him by ages of malignant self-hness and jealousy.

Civilization cannot accomplish the truest progress until it hews down with the two-edged ax of truth and justice, all its impious prejudices to the manifold varieties of temperament, taste and capacity existing in the female as well as in the male nature. When this is done, women will not prostitute themselves to earn bread or respectability. Women should be honestly self-supporting until there are none destitute or degraded; and when they earn their own living otherwise than by submitting (either as wife or mistress) to men's arbitrary lust, can they become healthy and true, and not till then. Woman's ignorance and submission and man's oppressive tyranny are equally culpable.

Woman's organic constitution forbids a natural response to man's more frequent ardors of passion; hence he is less to blame for being "unfaithful to his marriage vows" than for attaching disgrace to his "mistresses."

The delicacy of woman's organism makes it imperative that she be mistress of her person. Seldom or never is she this in the marriage state; but is treated with less consideration, even during pregnancy and suckling, than any other mother animal under the control of man.

Men pass their early manhood "sowing wild oats," until, satiated with vice, they woo and wed an ignorant "innocent," from whose vigorous youth they seek to repair their wasted vitalities. And if one of this kind of men is poor when the race is run, it is a convenient economy to have a wife willing to act the part of "general utility woman" and mother to his diseased cherubs—all for the sake, you know, of his priceless affection (?) and her board and clothes! O! magnanimous masculinity! Alas! poor little female fool!

No structure, though of seeming fair proportions, can stand secure unless the foundation is built upon the rock of truth.

Homes are dear as sanctuaries. It would not hurt women to own them in their own right!

Every soul is responsible to God for the development and use of its powers. The might to tyrannize, destroy and crush is detrimental to man's noblest nature; nor can woman grow full-statured, either in soul or mind, while held as subjects or appendages.

The more of women that appear "unlovely" by ceasing to be victimized by manhood's ideas and passions, the better for earth—and heaven!

Morals will be perfected when women can rely on themselves with honor and success.

Philosophies of life that do not embrace all of humanity, extending helpful Christian assistance to the weak, the humble, and the despised, should be distrusted, though emanating from "great" and popular minds.

God is beauty as well as goodness. Sexual love thrills to exaltation every principle of animal life, enchanting the very soul; and propagates offspring in the likeness of God. Church, State, and Society combine to create a compulsory wedded lust. Children born of lust are deficient or deformed either in heart, intellect, soul, or body, and are classed by law as imbeciles or criminals.

Intelligent minds, clearly comprehending this self-evident truth, stultify themselves in professing a belief urged by "divines" (heaven save the meek!) that Almighty God decreed an evil so abominable! He taught the world through Jesus, not to mock him with man's traditional wisdom.

The "social-evil" woman who receives the money for her support, that society will not allow her to earn as the man does, is not half so evil, contaminating, and base, as he who pays it. "Respectable" women whose partial conduct ignores this fact are infinitely worse than prurient.

If outcasts are neglected, forsaken, abused, condemned, despairing and broken hearted, so are wives. If outcasts are too indolent, and basely ignorant and cowardly to earn an honest living, so are wives. If outcasts prefer to barter themselves for luxurious ease, so do wives. If outcasts sell themselves for the semblance of love, so do wives. If outcasts associate with the vilest men, so do wives.

If wives are caressed, worshiped, and "cherished" by the "best of men," so are outcasts. If wives wear costly apparel in fine mansions, before "fond," "true," and admiring husbands and lovers, so do outcasts. But this is a difference, and a wide one, and it is this: Wives, under cover of a title and a home, heap ignominy on the outcasts who do not much surpass them in sin, but bear bravely, if wontonly, their badges of disgrace; amply, if ignobly, avenged in transmitting their poison through root and branch of the family tree—less fiendish than the wives who despise them, if they do not excell at this rebound of evil.

Oh my countrywoman! let not the iniquity of woman's enforced degradation longer exist! I appeal to you for the love of heaven! I conjure you by the uncounted wealth of womanly natures! by your noble scorn of baseness! by your tender pity for suffering! by your charities for the erring!

I conjure you by the agonies of blighted hearts! by the virtue-forsaken lives of your sisters! by the horrible sins of fathers, husbands, sons, and brothers, who weakly, and ignorantly, and proudly, and boastfully, blaspheme in principle, in word, and in action, nature's God! By all these I conjure you to determine this gigantic evil shall not live to curse our beautiful earth with its woman-destroying power.

Very truly and affectionately yours,

DARL ST. MARVS.

SEX IN POLITICS.

[From the Pall Mall Gazette.]

The arguments against the admission of women to the parliamentary franchise have, for the most part, taken the form of attempts to show that women are deficient in the qualities and capacities which, according to the nearly universal agreement of men, constitute political aptitude. The answer to this reasoning has consisted partly in a denial of the alleged facts, partly in appeals to certain admissions already made by men concerning women, and more than all in inferences from some theories of human nature which, so far as they apply at all, apply to female human beings as well as to males. There are, however, another set of considerations which in this country have neither been urged on one side nor answered on the other—those which have their basis not in the weakness but in the power of the other sex.

The removal of the disabilities of women has ceased in some of the American States to be looked upon in the half-serious light in which it is at best regarded here, and the prospect of having to deal with it as a practical question is evidently causing a great deal of annoyance not only to the men but to that great majority of women whom their agitating sisters have not taken the precaution to consult. But the discussion of the most probable results of giving women votes has sometimes turned in the United States not on conjectures as to what would be their influence in politics if they were plain, middle-aged, and clever, but on guesses as to what that influence would be if they were young, pretty, and no better nor worse intellectually than they are at present. A well-known American newspaper cites a recent case of competition among sculptors for the honor of executing a statue which is to be erected at the public expense. A young "sculptress," as the American phrase goes, was a candidate for the distinction, and, after personal canvass of the trustees, she was chosen. She was very good-looking and had a very charming manner and address, but she had never made a statue in all her life. The American journalist reasonably asks whether this practical illustration of feminine influence in a sphere of public activity does not suggest a great number of reflections. It is difficult to give the hint without the appearance of discourtesy, but have not all of us been a good deal affected, in the opinions which we have formed on the subject, by the accidental circumstance that the ladies who have come prominently forward to claim the franchise have had a good many of the powers which constitute the strength of men, and for the most part but a small share of the powers which constitute the strength of women? Amid the outcry which has been made concerning man's oppression of woman, it has been a little forgotten that woman has extraordinary influence over man. The literary advocates of the enfranchisement of the sex have strongly protested against the commonplace aphorisms, once greatly in vogue, which attribute to women every imaginable form of silliness and triviality; but there are another set of long-descended commonplaces, made more honestly, and seriously framed by their first authors, which speak of the power of women and of its immeasurable consequences. If the nose of Cleopatra, says the most famous of these, had been a hair's breadth longer, the fortunes of the world would have been altered. What change has come over the influence of women since the beginning of history, except that it is infinitely subtler, wider and more penetrating than it once was? The arts which made the Greek hero spin and the Jewish hero betray the secret of his strength are literally copied nowadays only by those who empty the pockets of the navy knew from his railway or of the sailor fresh from his voyage; but there is an ascending scale of attraction from that which conquers brutal coarseness to that which is irresistible to the highest intellectual refinement. It is some form of this influence which still occasionally makes the politician vote in the wrong lobby, or, by a more imperceptible operation, turns the prophet of a *posteriori* philosophy into the impulsive spokesman of a *priori* theorist.

The truth is, there are few more extraordinary phenomena of our day than the levity with which the advocates of woman's rights propose to introduce into political life a force of enormous but quite unknown intensity. We venture to assert that nobody has the faintest conception of what the true effects would be of giving women votes. To take an example suggested by those who advocate the step, we might, perhaps, have guessed what would have been the consequence of giving votes to male negroes. We might have predicted that the enfranchised slave would prove in politics a weak copy of his former master—that he would exhibit less political courage and capacity, but that his principles of action would be substantially the old ones. But there is not a shadow of probability that women, as politicians, would be the least like men. They have for ages in their own sphere been in possession of immense power, but it has been power of a very peculiar kind exercised in a very peculiar way. Nobody who has any idea of the wonderful skill with which families are managed, and at the same time of the nature of the influence which enables this skill to be exercised, can listen without amazement to the flimsy, haphazard arguments which usually second the proposal to give this particular form of ability the political world for its field. The materials for any sort of opinion on the point are as scanty as possible. All we can say is that when the springs of action which were at first confined to the interior of the family have at any time become motives of political conduct, the result has been serious, but very far from admirable. The patriarch, whose relations to his children constituted society in the beginning of things, has become in these latter days the *pere de famille*, who, according to Talleyrand, is *capable de tout*; and at least a century of English political history is filled with the records of shameless family jobbery. The present proposal is to give political power to the sex whose ideas and interests, ambition and cares, have hitherto from all time been bound up with the family. Is there anybody who sincerely believes that female politicians would not job for their husbands, their sons and their brothers? Is there anybody who would blame them for jobbing? Is there anybody who does not feel that a pernicious change would have come over society when they ceased to job? Men doubtless job now, sometimes most unblushingly, but still on the whole less than they did. But among the many results of admitting women to political privilege—most of them beyond all knowledge or conjecture—one certain consequence would be a vast addition to the influences which tend to cause public power to be abused for private, in the sense of family, objects. There is something curiously strange and even monstrous in the notion of a number of women sincerely putting forth all their energies for "the greatest happiness of the great-

est number." But if it is doubtful whether the ends for which the public power of women would be used are likely to be those which, on our present principles we think worthy of approbation, there is no doubt at all that the new class of politicians would bring with them a wholly new class of capacities for the attainment of their ends. It is quite possible, amid the ignorance with which we struggle on such subjects, to conceive the influence of women publicly exercised with the same excellence of intention with which it is, on the whole, applied in the management of the family. But it is really difficult to reflect without mis-giving on this influence being exerted in politics in the same mode and through the same instrumentalities. If we ever really come to this, all that can be said is that the world will probably witness refinements of bribery and novelties of corruption such as it has not dreamed of as yet.

Let us say, in conclusion, that a more extraordinary opportunity was never chosen for proposing to make a new experiment on the franchise under conditions which baffle human conjecture. Surely we are sufficiently at sea already. The insurrection of the Paris Commune is chiefly to be valued, according to Mr. Frederic Harrison in the *Fortnightly Review*, as a protest against the foolish and wicked authority claimed for universal suffrage. A rudely extended franchise seems to be leading in the Northern section of the United States to universal corruption, in the Southern to universal violence. It is surely a reasonable suggestion that we should wait a little before we swamp our constituencies with the votes of a class which most assuredly does not want to vote at all.

In 1828, Frances Wright, a noble Englishwoman, commenced lecturing. She had earnestly sought to make herself thoroughly acquainted with the nature of our institutions, and the genius of our government. She determined to try the experiment of organized labor with negroes. Purchasing two thousand acres of land on the Bluffs, now known as Memphis, Tenn., she took a number of families, with fifteen able-bodied men, and, giving them their freedom, organized her work. Prostrated by illness she was compelled to yield her personal supervision, and thus her attempt to civilize those people failed, and they were finally sent to Hayti.

She then commenced lecturing on the nature and object of "American Political Institutions." She gave also a course of Historical Political Lectures; and another course on the Nature of Knowledge, Free Inquiry, Divisions of Knowledge, Religion, Morals, Opinions, Existing Evils and a Reply to the Traducers of the French Reformers. No other person was at that time prepared so well to defend the French Reformers as she was, from her having been in part educated in General Lafayette's family. In all those lectures she showed the low estimate of woman and her inferior education.

To this heroic woman, who had left ease, elegance, a high social circle of rich culture, and, with true self-abnegation, gave her life, in the country of her adoption, to the teaching of her highest idea of truth, it is fitting that we pay a tribute of just, though late, respect. Her writings are of the purest and noblest character, and whatever there is of error in them is easily thrown aside.

The spider sucks poison from the same flower from which the bee gathers honey; let us, therefore, ask if the evil be not in ourselves before we condemn others.

This brave, unselfish, noble woman did not pass unscathed through her ordeal. Phariseism, then as now, was ready to stone the prophet of freedom. She bore the calumny, reproach and persecution to which she was subjected for the truth as calmly as Socrates. Looking down from the serene heights of her philosophy, she pitied and endured the scoffs and jers of the multitude, and fearlessly continued to utter her rebukes against oppression, ignorance and bigotry. Women joined in the hue and cry against her, little thinking that men were building the gallows and making them the executioners. Women have crucified, in all ages, the redeemers of their own sex, and men mock them with the fact. It is time now that we trample beneath our feet this ignoble public sentiment which men have made for us; and, if others are to be crucified before we can be redeemed, let men do the cruel, cowardly act; but let us learn to hedge womanhood round with generous, protecting care and love. Then men will learn, as they should, that this system of traducing women is no longer to be used as a means of their subjugation; it has been the most potent weapon to work on the minds of women.

Let them learn to demand that all men who come into their presence be as pure as they claim that woman should be. Let the test be applied which Christ gave, that if any is without sin in word, or deed, or thought, he shall "cast the first stone."—From Mrs. Davis' *History of the Woman Rights Movement*.

A WORD TO THE STONE THROWERS.

[From the N. Y. Herald.]

"Hypocrisy is the tribute paid by vice to virtue." What an epitome of the morals of the so-called conservators of the social organization! O Puritanical hypocrites! Pharisaical Christians! Religionist worldlings! What a precious sham this is that you have built up in the name of God and morality! How unlike it is to any society hinted at in the teachings of Him you pretend to serve! Where can you find any law of God that forbids the man who divorces his wife, or the wife who divorces her husband, from giving them shelter and support if it so chance that they are not able to care honestly for themselves? Where in that law you profess to abide by do you find any sanction for your demand that the injured wife should hunt the man who has made her sorrow, but is still the father of her children, from her home and pursue him with the bloodthirstiness of the sleuth hound? The fiendish malignity of your teachings has no warrant in the Christian law of love, and has too long cursed our civilization by allowing men to hunt erring wives—who, after all, in nine cases out of ten, are more sinned against than sinning—out of every chance of gaining what you are pleased to call a virtuous livelihood, and force them into the very ways which, in your self-righteous assumption you call the ways of sin. It is time that a woman should teach you mercy and magnanimity and decency. It is time that a woman should teach you that such a price is too great to pay for the conserving of the rotten thing you are vain to call "virtuous society." Condemned by such a society into which the spirit that Jesus of Nazareth showed is not permitted to enter. Condemned by a society that does not induce one of the noblest deeds a woman has done in all his-

tory, and which only is a great and magnanimous, fashion of the day, to the generation of vipers! Thou hast sent the prophets and stoned them that are sent to thee in wisdom, and I have gathered thy children to thee, and thou shalt say, 'I have gathered them under her wings, and ye would not be gathered; not that which is holy in the dogs, neither east ye pearls.' Forewarned, lest they turn again and rend you! Ye serpents, ye vipers, how can you escape the dominion of hell? Wee unto you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye shut up the kingdom of Heaven against men, neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in. Verily I say unto you, the publicans and the harlots go into the kingdom before you."

Here, you conservatives, who drag a woman before you to answer for a most Christian charity at your tribunals, is your record written in the Book whose teachings you have been for nearly nineteen centuries pretending to follow. Like the swine and the dogs you are, and verily, with the Lord, "Harlots shall enter the kingdom of Heaven before you!"

MARTHA OLMSTEAD LOOMIS.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

[Correspondent of the Fort Wayne Gazette.]

Those who did not go to the Rink last night missed a very rich treat in the way of a lecture. Mrs. Stanton is one of the few lecturers in whom we were not unpleasantly disappointed on account of their falling below their reputation. She is a pleasant, easy and graceful speaker, so candid and genial in manner as to put her audience on good terms with herself at the very outset. Her manner is colloquial like that of Mr. Phillips, and her speech itself combines almost every excellence. There is the compact and elegantly worded sentence, which bespeaks the cultivated and scholarly mind; the pertinent allusion indicative of wide reading and close observation; the conclusive logic which shows the clear head, and, shining over all, a genial humor which argues a kindly nature and great liberality of mind. Mrs. Stanton held the close attention of her audience for an hour and three-quarters, and among all the political speeches to which it has been our fortune to listen, including those of Douglas, Corwin, and John P. Hale, not one of them, in point of good sense, conclusive reasoning, ready wit, and satisfactory answers to objections, surpassed Mrs. Stanton's address last night. It contained food for the theologian, the political economist, the politician, the philanthropist and the lawyer. Then the beauty of the whole address was its fairness, frankness and earnestness. No effort at effect, but an evident desire to state the simple truth. We can hardly have patience with those who would deny to Mrs. Stanton and others like her the simple political justice which they claim. Whatever may be said of her speech last night, we will venture the remark that there is not a man in Indiana, however great his attainments, who can make a better one on the other side.

The *Xenia Gazette* published the following editorial remark on the women claiming to vote:

The Yellow Springs sisters who sought to violate law by voting at the late election in that place, have created a sensation, and can have the satisfaction, if such it is, of seeing their names in many of the public journals of the country. They will not benefit their cause by undue haste or unwise actions. In due time they can go to the polls and deposit their votes without let or hindrance; but such conduct as that on the 3d inst. will prejudice their cause and retard the progress of the woman suffrage movement.

In answer to that, Mr. Thomas W. Organ, a strong thinker and able writer of those parts, writes to the *Gazette*:

By the act of appearing at the polls these ladies did not seek to violate any law of our State or National Constitution. By no means. They only sought to exercise the right of suffrage, which is the right of all citizens of the United States, provided the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments mean anything. If language has any reliable meaning, then women are citizens, and as citizens of the United States, under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, are they not legally and justly entitled to the use of the ballot, in a republican government, as a citizen's means of self-expression and self-representation and self-defense? Women are citizens, and here is the legal proof: Women have pre-empted and can now pre-empt government lands. Only citizens can do this. Women have and can now register ships of commerce. Only citizens can have this right. Women are obligated to procure citizen's passes in order to insure protection in foreign lands. Only citizens of our government are granted these passes and this protection.

As the Constitution of the United States now stands amended, women are citizens; and as citizens they are entitled to the use of the ballot, as all citizens are. The only possible chance for the courts and legal gentlemen to decide otherwise is on the ground of former precedents and customs.

If legal language is to be interpreted only in the light of former precedents and customs, then what assurance have we that the black man's rights are secure under these amendments?

It was to decide two points in constitutional law that these ladies presented themselves at the polls. The first point is: Are women citizens? The second is: If they are citizens, what right has State law to prevent them from exercising all the rights of citizens? These questions must be decided in the future by courts of law. These tribunals have no disposition to give an opinion in the matter until the case is made and instituted; and, in order to institute a case, some lady or ladies must present themselves at the ballot-box and be denied the exercise of that right. Being denied the exercise of that right, their next and only redress is the courts of law. If woman is not a citizen, then she has no legal rights that man is bound to respect? If she is a citizen, then it is a base and unjust usurpation of power to keep her from exercising her rights of citizenship. The language of the Constitution decides this matter too clearly to be perverted or misunderstood. It says: "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States." Then the Fifteenth Amendment emphatically declares that: "That

the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." No mention of male sex is here made, or even indicated, as an essential of citizenship. The elements that constitute an individual a citizen under the law are the elements that constitute soul; and as women are supposed to have souls (in spite of Mahomet's opinion to the contrary), they are certainly citizens—and as citizens, are justly entitled to the protection guaranteed to all citizens. If, then, woman's citizenship is an admitted fact, then Ohio has no more right to deny her the rights of the elective franchise than South Carolina had to secede.

In interpreting the spirit of the Constitution of the United States, as so plainly manifested in the 14th and 15th amendments, we cannot allow that either the prejudices or precedents of the past, should in any way or manner influence the interpretation. The spirit of the age, our avowed declaration of her principles, and the plain, unmistakable language of the Constitution are all speaking testimony in favor of woman's citizenship. If a citizen, she is, therefore, a voter, and it is both her duty and her right to keep this point in testimony constantly before judges of elections, State and national jurists, by presenting her ballot at every election, for whatsoever purpose, held within her voting precinct. This is a speedy and effectual method of getting the question before the legal minds of the country, and by this means we shall soon have the discussion inside of party politics, and then woe to the party that dare to oppose it.

"LYING NEWSPAPERS."

The Rev. De Witt C. Talmage, under this head, says: The newspaper is the great educator of the century. There is no force to be compared to it, and we may as well acknowledge that the religious and secular newspapers of this country are the great educators of the people. We in the pulpit preach two or three sermons a week. The printing press preaches every morning of the year. If a newspaper be right, it is magnificently right. If it be wrong, it is awfully wrong! People don't read books—the vast majority don't. The people of the United States don't average one book each during the year. Whence, then, the intelligence, the capacity to discuss every question, secular and religious, to appreciate art and science? Next to the Bible I answer, from the newspaper, swift-winged and flying everywhere. The bad newspaper never stops at false tidings. Many a mother, whose son was at the front in the time of war, has read with streaming eyes of battles that were never fought. When a newspaper utters a falsehood, it utters as many as its circulation numbers, so that the hugest lie in all the earth is a newspaper lie. The bad newspaper stops not for any slander. It carefully words the paragraph so that the suspicion is cast out and the damage done, while the penalty of the law is evaded. There are thousands of men every year crushed under the ink roller. It is a simple fact that the most abandoned and depraved man in New York and Brooklyn can go within a few minutes' walk into a bad newspaper office and have any lie inserted that he wants inserted. If he can't get it in any other way he can get it in what is called the "personal" column, and the editor escapes the responsibility by saying it was an anonymous communication, when I have found the editor has sometimes written it himself! The bad newspaper stops for no political falsehood. You know as well as I do that in the autumn elections there are enough falsehoods told by the bad newspapers to make the father of lies disown his monstrous progeny. Many a time I have stayed away from the ballot-box because I could not tell what the truth was, and which candidate for office was worthy.

The bad newspaper stops not for the unclean story. The only question is, will it pay? The newspapers of this country, just in proportion as they purify themselves, decrease their circulation, and when a paper becomes positively religious it is almost—not quite—certain to become bankrupt. So that there are to-day, I suppose, not more than five self-supporting religious newspapers in this country. People can't stand so much religion. Now, I bring this matter before you that you may watch the newspapers that come into your family, for the man is no better than the newspapers he perpetually reads.

WHY WOMEN FALL.

The "social evil" is not confined, by a great deal, to the places where it exists in its more public manifestation. A while ago, having some curiosity to ascertain if the "personals" in the Sunday's *Tribune* were bona fide, and, if so, what was the character of those advertising, I answered four of them. In due time I received replies, with the following result: No. 1. A widow who keeps a boarding-house on Michigan avenue, about thirty years of age, with one child. No. 2. A young lady on Wabash avenue, near Twenty-second street, about twenty-two years old. No. 3. A widow on one of the "courts" between Wabash and Michigan avenues, about thirty-two years of age, with three children. No. 4. A married woman residing on South Park avenue, about thirty, with a sickly husband and no children. All wanted about the same thing—a "friend," who could assist them—the young lady and the married lady spoke of dress particularly.

So much for that one experiment, which, I assure you, is literally true. Now the organ of this class of people is publishing these "personals" all the time—especially every Sunday. The facts I have related go to show that the "evil" is fearfully prevalent all over the city, and indicate a state of morals not of the most favorable kind.

One result of my investigations on this subject on this subject is to lead me to the conclusion that the passion for dress and display is the cause of a large portion of this evil than any one thing. I am thoroughly convinced that more girls are seduced into a life of shame through a desire to keep up with the times in fashionable attire, than in any other way. In fact, I believe that three out of every five enter the gate that leads to destruction through the wiles of the temptor—Fashion.

The women themselves, therefore, who run riot in the extravagance of dress are primarily more chargeable, in my opinion, with the existence and extension of the "social evil," than are the men.—*Chicago Republican*.

AN AUCTIONEER advertises: "For sale, a large quantity of oil paintings 'by some of the ancient masters of the day.'"

THE WEEKLY BULLETIN OF THE PANTARCHY.

INDIVIDUALITY AND PANTARCHISM.

ORIGIN OF THE PANTARCHY.

The Pantarchy dates back for its germ in idea to 1851, and for its first form of practical organization to 1854. In this incipient stage it was called The League, and the first programme of that organization was the following document issued in that year. Within two or three years from that date it had a membership extending to Europe, Asia and South America. The Pantarchy in its subsequent form grew out of the League some years later. It has never had for its object to reach the great public at any early day, but to reach and instruct a few leaders into the scientific principles of true organization in preparation for the great social revolution, which it is foreseen is impending. This League-document begins to have now a historical value, and is given for the first time to the public.

THE CLUB, which acquired popularly and erroneously the name of Free-Love Club, which held its sessions in 1854-5, at 555 Broadway, and so greatly disturbed the quiet slumbers of this Moral and Religious City, was the assembly of The Grand Order of Recreation, of The League, and was no other than a grand visit where men, women and children gathered once a week at a cost of 10 cents each, to amuse themselves and each other socially and rationally, instead of resorting to lager-beer saloons and the theatres, or more objectionable places. It fairly solved the question of amusements, and need only be opened at any time under proper management to furnish 10,000 or 100,000 persons with innocent, delightful and instructive amusements at a merely nominal price. The brute instincts of an ignorant populace, and the bigoted opinions of the more intelligent classes were the only obstacles encountered. The world has not quite learned yet not to crucify its benefactors.

The object of The League and The Pantarchy having been to ascertain and to test the truths of social science first on the small scale, a vast amount of work has been done which is a mere preparation for the future. Experiments which have proved complete successes have been laid aside, equally with others which were comparatively failures, in order to concentrate exertions on other points of the immense movement. The object is to elaborate theoretically and practically a central and common standing-ground for the leaders of all the segments of the grand Army of Progress, so that they may become co-ordinated and co-operative. Members or those who affiliate with the Pantarchy are called Pantarchians.

S. P. A.

[SECRET AND CONFIDENTIAL.]

THE LEAGUE

Union of the Men of Progress of all classes, charging themselves with the investigation of all subjects relating to the Welfare of Man, and with the Promulgation and Realization of New Truths in every department of Human Affairs.

FIRST BULLETIN TO THE LEAGUE

BY THE

CHIEF OF THE LEAGUE.

THE LEAGUE is an organized body, with its Head quarters in New York, its ramifications in the different towns and cities of the United States, and with a capacity of extension to all the countries of the world. Its existence marks an Epoch in the Progress of Liberty and Thought. The elevation of its purposes transcends the petty ambitions of ordinary political parties as much as its universal toleration and breadth exceed the narrowing and belittling conditions of religious fanaticism and sect.

The LEAGUE embraces men and women of all nations and creeds, whose religion is devotion to Humanity and Truth, without inquiring whether their conceptions are embodied in Abstract Principles or in Personal Forms. In the contemplation of the LEAGUE all truth is equally Divine Truth, whether existing in the Discoveries of Science or in the Revelations of a Prophet; the interests of all rational beings, in all spheres, are the interests of each; and every healthy human aspiration is a guiding indication of the Divine Will.

At the same time, no conformity of opinion is enforced, even in the construction put upon these principles, and still less in the form of their expression. They will be accepted by each individual mind only so far as their truth becomes obvious to it, and put in such forms of utterance as shall suit best each individual conception. Apart from the most external particulars relating to Organization,—such as the terms of admission, for example,—no concurrence in action

will be obligatory. Any such shall result naturally from attraction, and from a constantly increasing understanding of the scientific principles of true Organization, which it will be a principal object of the LEAGUE to investigate and ascertain. The freest scope will be given to individual ambitions in the pursuit of knowledge, and in the selection of whether leading or subordinate. Election will consist of the natural and voluntary assumption of a leading position, and the suffrages—afterwards cast—of the loyalty and allegiance with which others choose to follow any banner which is unfurled. Such, and none other, is the tenure by which the Chief of the Movement holds office, and assumes to issue this Bulletin, and all other documents which he may, from time to time, address to the LEAGUE.

The LEAGUE, although it has its political side, is not an American Party, as defined by the accident of birth, or by lines drawn across the surface of the globe. It is only American by its devotion to American ideas, and devoted to them only so far as they are right. It includes and admits people of all nationalities and all opinions. It has among its members Doctors and Students of divinity, christians of various denominations, Jews, Infidels, and Atheists; and is equally open to the reception of Mahometans and Pagans. It is probably the first society ever organized upon principles broad enough to include and to harmonise all these conflicting diversities of men.

The LEAGUE will adopt from all the existing institutions of society, public and secret, those features which approve themselves to common sense, and to the principles of social science, so far as understood. Accordingly, different Orders will exist within the LEAGUE, communicating and co-operating with each other; as, for example:

I. **The Grand Order of Religion**, which will seek to discover those general truths which affect the spiritual nature of man, and his relations to the central source of wisdom and love in the universe, upon which all thinking men can coincide, and to remove all superstition from the human mind, by separating the true from the false in every creed and every shade of human opinion; to find, in fact, either a basis of unity or of legitimate diversity in matters of faith, which will tend to the fullest recognition of the central Christian ideas—love, and the actual brotherhood of the race.

II. **The Grand Order of Justice**, which will charge itself with solving all the problems which affect the relations of capital and labor, and with the establishment of justice and equity in the several departments of human industry, by scientific, by social, and lastly, by political means.

III. **The Grand Order of Charity** will take charge of the best methods of furnishing relief to the suffering poor, without encouraging beggary, and with the philosophical and governmental questions which relate to the alleviation of pauperism and crime.

IV. **The Grand Order of the Social Relations** will investigate the rights of women, the existing and the true laws of marriage and divorce, and physiology as applied especially to the rearing of children, and the prevention of the terrible loss of life among infants, which is the affliction, and the reproach of the science of civilized countries.

V. **The Grand Order of Recreation** will attempt what can be done to organize the amusements of the people upon a basis of cheapness and of accommodations for vast numbers, which will bring them within the reach of the whole people, and, by their frequency, variety, and moderation, prevent them from degenerating into dissipation. The effort will be made, at the same time to place amusement upon the footing of the development of the latent powers of the people to entertain, while they cultivate and refine themselves and each other, rather than to depend upon the administration of delight by professional performances, conducted by a distinct and separate class of persons.

VI. **The Grand Order of the Beautiful**, devoted to ascertaining the nature and the highest purposes of art, and to forwarding its practical development; **The Grand Order of Discovery**; **The Grand Order of Invention**; **The Grand Order of Literature**; **The Grand Order of Science**; **The Grand Order of the Unity of the Sciences**; **The Grand Order of Labor**; and so on, with a different "GRAND ORDER," devoted, according to the attractions of the individuals who compose them, to every branch of affairs within the entire range of human concerns; with subordinate orders, acting collectively in every minor branch of the movement, down to the individual who finds a speciality in which to engage, in co-operation with the purposes of the LEAGUE.

In the idea of conserving what is good, and rejecting what is bad in existing institutions, the LEAGUE has first turned its attention to the question of organization, and especially to that of secrecy in its proceedings. It has resolved itself into a secret society, with the belief that it has arrived at the means of availing itself of all the benefits without incurring the evils of that feature.

The names of its members, the names of its officers or of those who lead in the different departments of the organization, with portions of the plan of organization itself, and its various transactions, will, except so far as they are intended for the public, be guarded by the members as secret. An obligation is required, as the condition of membership, to that effect; the same in kind as the implied obligation of secrecy which rests upon an individual who is admitted to the hospitality of a private family not to divulge what they prefer not to have known, or that which rests upon a gentleman who is informed confidentially of the state of the affairs of a mercantile friend. On the other hand, all secret oaths and obligations of continued fidelity for a single hour, to any person, doctrine, or line of conduct, are discarded as wrong in principle—since the human mind perceives as erroneous, at any moment, what it had before accepted as true—and as liable, at least, to be wicked and pernicious in their results.

By this measure and degree of secrecy, the following advantages are obtained:

1. There is a charm and attraction for the human mind in the sense of privacy, which belongs to the retired and secret association with one's

fewer men, such as all have experienced in the bosom of the family and the convivial circle, and which is equally characteristic of the larger fraternity of the LEAGUE. Hence, A NEW PLEASURE IS GAINED.

2. While individuals, in the pursuit of one kind or another are left to the world, the freedom of opinion or conduct, which it is the right of another to inform and pursue, is necessary to a just and necessary process, and must be an important and paying curiosity into the affairs of others. Society needs an escape from the repressive influences of sect, and of an ignorant and bigoted public opinion,—some refuge where every man shall feel free to utter his truest and most intimate convictions upon all subjects, with the assurance that he is not "casting pearls before swine, who will turn again and read him." It is the strong alone who can dispense with such protection. Hence, A DEFENSE FOR THE WEAK IS THE NEXT ADVANTAGE SECURED.

3. Every human being has a right to his own privacy, among the prerogatives of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—a right which is constantly liable to be invaded in the prevalent ignorance of rights, and a right which men vindicate every day, with a jealous and vigilant respect for their own individuality, in the private and business relations of life. No limit can be put upon the exercise of that right by reference to the number of persons assembled in one place or taken into the secret. Hence, A VALUABLE AND IMPORTANT RIGHT OF HUMANITY IS ASSERTED AND MAINTAINED.

4. Secrecy is an element of Power. In war, strategy is equally as important as valor or skill. "In union is strength." All collective action of men might be objected to on that ground as well as secrecy. The remedy for the dangers of Power is not to prevent the accumulation of Power, but to know the principles by which it can be so directed as to be beneficent, instead of being destructive and bad. The whole of life is a struggle, or a species of warfare with evils of some kind, and no legitimate means of Power can be spared. Every cabinet, every merchant in his counting-house, and every individual, makes use of secrecy for this reason, and it is just that they should. Hence, AN ADDITIONAL EFFICIENCY IS OBTAINED.

5. Finally, there is a tendency on the part of all to attribute an undue weight, or to refuse the due weight to opinions, arguments, or measures, on the ground of personality. An abstract principle is equally true, whether it is discovered by a good or a bad man—by an American, an Englishman, or a Turk. By secrecy in relation to the origin of views, this natural prejudice is forestalled and prevented. Hence, finally, by Secrecy, THE GREATEST PRACTICAL DEGREE OF IMPARTIALITY IS REACHED.

THE CHIEF of the LEAGUE, acting upon his own judgment, and upon his estimate of the concurring sentiment of the individual members, will issue, from time to time, Special Bulletins to the LEAGUE, or to the Public, defining the general action of the LEAGUE or the measures determined upon for immediate action. All measures so announced will be equally as open for discussion after as before they are adopted. The dissent of any member from any single principle or act not deemed vital, or his partial dissent from a general policy, will thus have the precise weight to which it may be entitled upon the internal public opinion and on the success of the LEAGUE, upon which alone the tenure of the Chief depends; while an entire dissent from the whole current of action will appear in the defection and secession of members. This, it is believed, is the natural system of checks and balances in the True Order of Organization, or Government—a scientifically regulated Authority, voluntarily assumed because there is consciousness of power for good uses, and voluntarily accepted so far only as it is attractively and wisely administered.

Programme, Reports, and Treatises, from the Self-constituted Orders and Boards within the League, will also be continuously published by the League, for which neither the Chief, nor the League as a body, nor any individual on account of his membership of the League, will be in any sense responsible, except to the extent that such documents are deemed worthy of attention and consideration.

The League will unduly hasten nothing in its announcements to the public, nor in its public measures. It will be more anxious that its work shall be well done than that it be done quickly. Results may not appear in many of the branches of its action indicated above, for months, and, in some, not for years.

Those which are most important, and in which its investigations are first crowned with success, will take precedence of others. When such intimations are put forth by it as the people obviously deem fundamental and of paramount importance, the League will stand ready to lead the way to their realization, by political or other appropriate means. Meantime, the League is a Grand University, charging itself with the investigation, and with the training of its members into a knowledge of all that relates to the rights and the well-being of the people; a Senate in Secret Session, discussing and watching over their interests; an active and efficient agent for the interchange of their opinions and views; and a cheerful and half-domestic gathering point or Social Centre for every class of citizens, in some of the nooks and corners of which they will find themselves as much at home with their wives and families as the solitary male visitor is in the Clubs of London or New York.

The League is not the idea of a day, and is not, is confidently believed, destined to an ephemeral existence. It is the natural confluence, at the right time, of the reformatory currents of thought which have been swelling during the last fifty years in the nations of Christendom, by the adoption of the holy principle of consociation broad enough to accommodate the diversities, and to conciliate the good-will and arouse the enthusiastic co-operation of all classes of men. The principles of its organization have been cautiously and profoundly studied during a long period of time. It embodies, at present, in the extent of its organization, in its aggregate of numbers, of wealth, of social position, of education, of thought, and of the plain common sense of the masses of the people, an assemblage of elements which ensures its rapid and permanent growth, and renders it, even already, in no mean sense, a notable power in the earth. No steps will be taken to con-

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times and places of its assemblages, nor the terms of admission. Those who are interested to inform themselves will find the means of doing so, or will wait until the information comes to them in some appropriate way.

The circulation of this document is to be confined strictly to the members of the League, except when entrusted by members to friends who are considering the question of becoming members, and then only under the seal of confidence.

THE NATION AND PRESIDENT BARNARD ON UNIVERSOLOGY AND ALWATO.

MR. GODKIN, editor of *The Nation*, has commenced the study of *Universology* and *Alwato*, and finds it too difficult for him. Perhaps he was over rash in trying his brain upon anything so out of his usual line of thought as the principles of a new science. I have no doubt that there are parts of the book, *THE PRIMARY SYNOPSIS OF UNIVERSOLOGY*, which are not absolutely above his capacity for comprehension; but his *animus* as a reviewer is shown by the fact that he selects for comment and exposure to ridicule as ignorant as his own, just those parts which, it seems, are so. Would he find it very difficult to raise a *guffaw* over any one of the most familiar sciences, by printing half a page of this abstruse, and, to the popular mind, unintelligible "jargon" of technicality?

The comment of the *Nation* brings out from PRESIDENT BARNARD, of Columbia College, the following genial note:

To the Editor of the *Nation*:

SIR—Your amusing notice of "The Primary Synopsis of *Universology* and *Alwato*," by Mr. Stephen Pearl Andrews, seems to call for a word or two from me. As I never heard of "Alwato" before, I have nothing to say about that.

It is now some months since Mr. Andrews did me the honor to call upon me, for the purpose, as he said, of stating to me the outlines of a plan of his own, for the classification of human knowledge in such a manner as to exhibit clearly the affiliation and interdependence of all the sciences. As this subject is one which has much occupied the deepest thinkers of all times, from Aristotle down to Herbert Spencer, it ought to have, and perhaps has, a certain degree of "importance." For myself, if I have a special weakness, it is for logical methods, and this may account for the fact that I was interested in the scheme of Mr. Andrews.

In conversation Mr. Andrews does not speak in *Alwato*, nor (always) in the jargon of which your article furnishes so amusing examples. In explaining his system to me, he used very good American, and made himself, I venture to affirm, very nearly intelligible, an assertion which I should hardly dare to make of Comte, and which no one, I think, who regards his reputation for truthfulness, would dare to make of Hegel or Oken, upon the same subject. As I have heard nothing of "descending wings," or elements "upward and frontwise tending," or other elements "pointing downward and behind," I wish to say that I hardly admit myself to have been guilty of that "culpable amiability" for which you lament the want of a name.

Very respectfully, etc.,

F. A. P. BARNARD.

Columbia College, May 20, 1871.

As for Mr. Godkin's appeal to me, as a Philologist, to furnish him a name for a certain kind of "amiability," I will give thought to the subject. As a first impression, and from my slight experience of him, I should say that for the technicality in question, we might take Godkin, as the root of the word sought for, with almost any euphonic prefix, which would absolutely invert or reverse its meaning. The opposite of Godkinism must be very near the thing wanted, to mean any kind of amiability; and we are not without instances of very effective technicalities derived from the names of individuals, as for instance, Galvanism, Swindling, Swartwoutism, etc. Perhaps he will favor me with his opinion on the subject. Does he find that, as a journalist, I write sufficiently good "American" to be comprehended?

G. P. A.

The following letter was written some years ago, by one of the most earnest laborers in the search after universal principles, to Mr. Clancy, who addressed him on behalf of the Pantarchy. A close re-reading of it does not reveal any probable objection which Mr. Kimball could name to its being laid before the public:

CONCORD, N. H., January 4, 1867.

"MY DEAR SIR—Your favor of December 24th was received on the 31st, and I sit myself briefly to reply, although I am physically quite invalid, and therefore do not hope to meet your reasonable expectations at this time.

"In view of what seems to me an unmistakable desire on your part that I be induced to co-operate with the prophets of the New Era in future, I feel it incumbent upon me to ask for the definite purport of such a desire. I see clearly enough that in the 'whole thing'—in your own significant phrase—is involved: First, the truth of principles as a whole, to be evoked and established in formal terms; second, the promulgation of the same to the world; and, thirdly, the practical inauguration thereof in a real 'divine human order of life.' This last, of course, involving the realization of true society. Thus you see indicated three provinces of activity for the intelligent disciples of the new order; and I am interested to inquire as to what particular province you refer when you so kindly proffer fellowship and solicit fraternal co-operation. I might understand myself to be in some measure suited to one as a useful member, and quite unfit for another; and could only hope to realize such pleasant alliance when it were found that the want and

supply were duly proportioned. According to the best estimate I can make of the determinations of my own mind, I rather suspect I am to find myself in especial relation with the work of theologic revision; but the education in underlying universal principles which fits one to do this ultimately, or in a way to reconstruct theology as a science or divine theonomy, of course also gives one a clue to all mysteries, and thus makes one the universal critic, capable of determining the validity of weights and measures in any direction. A suggestion of this kind would seem grossly pretentious to most minds; but to you, who are schooled in the broadest conceptions of creative order, it will be deemed all right. Let it be understood, at any rate, that I have such a distinct and abiding sense of the littleness of the personal and of the almightiness of the universal to forbid indulgence, for a moment, under any circumstances, a personal pride. On the contrary, I know humanity is a unit, and what even of goodness and truth is wrought and exposed in the individual, only properly awakens grateful praise to the Allwise and Allgood, who thus mercifully shapes His weakest vessels into adequate forms to express as fruit what the painful toils of humanity, in all the mighty past, cultivated, to God's perfect ends. With such feelings, nothing would so quickly disgust and repel as to find one the champion of any greatness, and putting on the airs of the fop and the strut in such championship. Whenever it occurs, it is safe to conclude, either that one is no champion, or there is nothing really great in the work. Foppery will do for the Broadway dandy, whose especial ambition it is to sport fine livery; but for God's finished man, clad with the robes of the universe, consciously poverty-stricken in self, but abundant in conferred wealth, there may be no inhuman pride, though perfect fulness of joy in possession. But I am unduly prolix upon points I fear not specially interesting to you just here. Concerning language, every theme must surely carry its own vesture. If they be duly proportioned, the two will of course be equal. If, in such case, the theme be a unit, the lingual vesture will surely be the same. If the theme be the diversified in the unitary form, then the vesture, being equal, must also be universal—a perfect form and a seamless robe. But language, like all else, is both unitary and diversified; hence, in one form is verbal dialectic; in another, symbolic, etc., etc. If all this be correct, you will see that no one form can exhaust, nor can any one form exclusively express. Utilizing the diversified, in verbal expression, in a manner equivalent to the unity of the diversified in creation, seems to me to be necessitated by, and to proceed upon, such 'creative' order; and as a result, not to exclude all but one simple method of expression, but to so comprehend the one sole principle that every form will be readily understood from that principle, on condition that each form be strictly consonant therewith.

"Cordially thanking you for your expressions of regard, and reciprocating every good thought and wish, with the hope of hearing from you again when convenient; and hoping to do better by you next time, I am,

"With fraternal regard, yours,

"WM. H. KIMBALL.

"M. A. Clancy Esq., Washington, D. C."

Old Pantarchians and radical reformers will rejoice to have a word from one of the pioneer women in behalf of Absolute Social Emancipation. S. P. A.

FRANKLINVILLE, N. C.,
Thursday, May 18, 1871.

S. P. ANDREWS—

Dear Sir: I read your article on the "Dog Collars" in the *Tribune* of May 9, only a few moments since, and I hasten to express my pleasure.

I see in that article my old true friend, for whom I experienced the profoundest respect, the most unbounded admiration, the loved teacher who kindly broke the chains that bound me to a dark past.

I have ever been with you in every truth you have uttered, in every persecution you have endured.

I retain ever my uncompromising individuality intact, and hence offer you only the inevitable homage of a soul imbued with the most reverent devotion that one person can feel for one so superior in the realms of intellect, though I claim to be your equal on the plane of love.

I am buried alive, so please receive this as a message from the dead.

Mrs. T. O. LRELAND,

Formerly MARY CHILTON.

70 DEFREES ST., WASHINGTON, D. C.,

Friday, May 12, 1871.

MY DEAR ANDREWS—I have just learned of Mrs. Andrews' death. The letter of a friend announced the sad but not unexpected event. I have always thought, on occasions of this kind the less said to the most nearly related survivors of the deceased the better, except by those whose sympathy is sought. To many persons the silence or cold indifference of outsiders is more endurable than the usual mechanically-uttered, commonplace, consolatory phrases. I shall, therefore, confine myself to stating that as I would rejoice with you in your prosperity so do I sympathize with you in your adversity.

I know nothing of your plans for the future, but I trust that they will be wisely conceived and skilfully applied for the substantiation of truth.

I shall be glad to confer with you at any time with a view of doing something. I am impatient to be actively engaged in the most important work to be done within the sphere of my capacity.

Very truly yours,

AUGUSTUS F. BOYLE.

P. S.—Is it not time to commence the new creation, and execute the Divine order, "Let there be light." This light (spiritual light) has been a long time coming. As yet we have had only material light. I believe that thousands of persons in this age have perfectly developed organs of

spiritual vision, and that all men have them partially developed; that, in other words, so-called, "spiritual blindness" is a rare exception, and not the rule. It is the world that is in spiritual darkness, and spiritual organs of vision are consequently useless—their existence hardly recognized. Therefore, "Let there be light," spiritual light, TRUTH.

AUGUSTUS F. BOYLE.

37 HUNTINGTON STREET, BROOKLYN,
May 20, 1870.

MY DEAR MRS. ANDREWS—I herewith send you a copy of my poem on Pierpont, to replace that which you have lost. The poem was written several years before Mr. Pierpont's death, and when, after long hesitation, I ventured to send him a copy, it drew forth a very grateful response from him. I am glad that I can number him among my friends, for the friendship of a man like him ennobles its possessor.

I regret to hear of your continued illness, but I earnestly hope that the warm and genial airs of May and June may bring health to you once more. I have only pleasant memories of you and gratitude for all your kindness to me and mine, and a respect, which is scarcely less than reverence, for those qualities of head and heart which win the esteem and love of all who know you, and which make them proud to call you friend, as I certainly am when I sign myself,

Very truly yours,

WM. H. BURLEIGH.

PIERPONT.

Erect in form, as one whose spirit free
Ne'er bent to any, less than God, the knee—
Crowned with the glory of his silver hair,
A nobler diadem than monarchs wear.
Behold the Bard, whose smoothly-flowing line
Rings with the cadenced "Airs of Palestine!"
Whether in psalms he chants Jehovah's praise,
Or to old Freedom consecrates his lays,
Or mourns the child whose "bright sunshiny head"
Was early pillowed with the dreamless dead;
Or strives, of self forgetful, to unbind
The chains that shackle the inebriate's mind;
Or, with bold words whose scath is like a ban,
Scourges the trampers of his fellow-man;
Or stings with wit the idiot pretense
That claims the precedence of common sense—
In all the phrases of his verse, behold
The regal spirit that we loved of old,
In every change, of circumstance and time
To truth still clinging with a faith sublime;
Though to strange altars priest and statesman kneel,
"His loyalty he keeps, his love, his zeal,"
Himself that wonder since the world began,
A self-reliant, downright, honest man.

Hail, true philanthropist! Hail, honored Bard!
No soul like thine shall miss the great reward!
True to thy lofty aim, nor hopes, nor fears
Turned thee aside, through all the weary years,
Nor damped the ardor of that holy zeal
Which, through all trials, sought thy neighbor's weal,
Nor dimmed the faith that ever, from above,
Brought strength and patience for thy work of love.

Poet and Prophet! O'er whose classic head
Their snows and honors four-score years have shed,
Long may we welcome from that harp of thine
"Airs" not less sweet than those "of Palestine!"
Long may our souls with kindred ardor thrill
As Warren speaks, though thee, from Banker's Hill,
For while that "Stand!" the ground's your own, my Braves!"
Rings in our ears, what power could make us slaves?
Long, at the antics of thy "Golden Calf!"
Laugh may we, and grow wiser as we laugh,
For more than fun is hidden in thy wit,
And more than laughter may be born of it.
Long may the heart that throbs through all thy song,
A pulse of fire, in stern rebuke of wrong,
Send its warm life-tides to the working brain,
Those thoughts are blows to break the bondman's chain,
And may thy words for Truth and Freedom, be
Ever as now, "half-battles for the free."

And though, at length, from circles such as this,
Thy manly form and full, rich voice we miss,
And tremulous lips in broken accents say,
"Wo, for the strength and glory past away!"
Still shall thy memory, like a sunbeam, dart
Its frequent brightness o'er the sorrowing heart;
Still from thy kindling words shall courage flow
To those who strike for perilled right a blow;
Still to the sad inebriate whisper hope,
As his weak hands for life's lost treasures grope;
Still on the billowy anthem lift the soul
While waves of music from the organ roll;
And still, where'er thy honored verse is read,
Thy praise shall be, "We cannot make him dead!"

QUIPS BY FIGARO.

The policeman who was accused of living above his station says it was only an arca pencee.

The people in Algiers are longing for the light of other days.

The servants in the bathing establishments of Long Branch are spoken of as sousse-maids.

The Jersey hen who mistaid an egg some time since recognized it a week after in a chicken.

What is called "consistency" is the virtue of weak minds.

Nearly all illegitimate children are born in the bonds of wedlock.

The love of evil is the root of all money.

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All communications, business or editorial, must be addressed

Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly,

44 Broad Street, New York City.

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

THE HERALD DEFINES ITS POSITION.

The *Herald* is the best purveyor of news in the world. Not a fact nor a rumor escapes its Argus eyes. It swallows all the camels and does not strain out a single gnat. It would be vain to expect editorials from such an omnivorous snapper up of trifles. The full man is never a wise man. Formerly it had a reputation for wit and raciness; cynical respecting nothing, but spicy. Since it has become a religious paper, however, its editorials have lost even that doubtful merit, and are now written down to its advertising patronage. In its estimate of the Paris insurrection, the *Herald* makes some deductions, so amusingly inconsequent as to relieve the article of the customary vapidness. After summarizing the excesses of the Reds, the *Herald* directly attributes their misconduct to their weak leaning toward the new doctrines of Woman's Rights. Bergeret and Cluseret talks irreligion and proclaimed atheism. Hence the Commune, hence their disrespect for law and order, their contempt of Thiers, their disbelief in the efficiency of a government that had brought such unexampled calamities on France, and with a fine burst worthy of a convert at a negro camp meeting, the *Herald* thus announces that it has "got religion."

"The Lord Jehovah said to our mother Eve long ago, 'Thy desire shall be toward thy husband, and he shall rule over thee,' and so it will continue to be until the end of time, woman's rights and suffragist conventicles to the contrary, notwithstanding," concluding with a grand flourish, "We rejoice in our position on this great question."

What is the great question? The rights of the Versailles to elect a king, or the rights of the Communists to found a republic, or the American woman's right to a vote, or the rights of those thirty thousand women in the City of New York who work day in and day out at soul and body-destroying wages, as the *Herald* lately depicted in a three-column article with a sensational heading? On which question does the *Herald* found its position; wherefore rejoice?

Some years ago the *Herald* thought slavery a very fine thing. The *Herald* was not always General Grant's friend. The creed of the *Herald* is elastic, variable and not without shadow of turning. Time works wonders—some morning the Woman's Rights will loom up grandly, the *Herald* will then come in on the top of the wave, take all the credit of the rise in stocks, and exclaim "Didn't I tell you so?"

The *Nation* pays its respects to Victoria C. Woodhull, as follows:

Harper's Weekly calmly informed us, two weeks ago, when, discussing "sex in politics," we ventured to assert that if women entered the political arena the probabilities were that the female politicians would, in their moral qualities, after a while closely resemble the male politicians—that is, that politics would speedily become a refuge or career for female adventurers of bad reputation, and thus make public life a foul sink of impurity, and paralyze reform, it might be, for a century—that the probabilities were all the other way, and bade us look at the influence of women in literature and in the drawing-room; as if literature and drawing-rooms were places in which the sexual passion could be brought into play in the winning of an exciting game, in which the stakes were high; as if Morrissey and Tweed gave any trouble in literature or drawing-rooms, or in any manner troubled the waters of social life. We now ask *Harper's Weekly* to consider attentively the Woodhull case. Mrs. Woodhull has in one short year risen to the head of the strongest and most popular section of the woman's suffrage party. She owns and edits by far the most widely circulated organ of the movement. She lives the life of a "free lover," and announces openly that she holds the free-love theory in its entirety, and has a reputation damaged in every direction. Nevertheless, she is accepted as a leader with enthusiasm, not by the denizens of the slums and grogeries, but by a considerable number of excellent women; they refuse to pay any attention to her character, and declare they care not what she is, or what she was, so

long as "she can speak the word for the hour"—to use the latest bit of platform jargon—and sit at her feet, and listen to her expositions of constitutional law with profound faith and reverence, and maintain that one has only "to look into her blue eye" to know she must be good, no matter what is said about her. It must be remembered, too, that as yet the women are only playing at politics; that there is as yet nothing but notoriety to be gained by their agitation; and that the constituency to which Mrs. Woodhull appeals is a picked body of persons of strong moral or religious feelings. We think any fair minded person may readily picture what would happen, when the struggle began in earnest, with subsidies, charters and "travels" of all kinds of prizes, and with the common run of voters for constituents. What is most strikingly revealed in the Woodhull case, too, is the readiness, and even eagerness, with which the female agitators have adopted the male politicians' indifference to character, as long as the champion is "sound," and can "speak the word for the hour."

The reply to the liberalism of *Harper's Weekly* is altogether so feeble that it is not worth refutation. Its suggestions, such as they are, are better put by the *Pull Mall Gazette* in its article on the possible value of such an unknown quantity as women in politics.

"The reputation damaged in every direction" which the *Nation* so courteously ascribes to Victoria C. Woodhull, was perfectly well known to that "considerable number of excellent women who sit at her feet and listen to her expositions;" and it was precisely in proportion, as they know, the motives of her life and the utter valuelessness of the condemnation by the *Nation* and its congenes, that they prefer her to the honorable post of their leader, rather than to be kept back by the fears of timid and self-seeking conservatism, strong only to wag the head and shoot out the tongue.

DEMOCRACY—REPUBLICANISM.

It is one of the self-evident propositions that two bodies cannot occupy the same place at the same time, but precisely that thing the two great political bodies of the country are attempting to do. The place the Republican party has occupied so long the Democrats are attempting to step upon. The Republican party in the nomination and election of Mr. Lincoln took and occupied new national ground, which they have persistently remained upon ever since, and have thrown around it those defenses which it required to make it impregnable to overthrow.

The Democrats have continually endeavored to overthrow the ground occupied by the Republicans and to thwart the erection of its defenses. But they signally failed in both attempts. The defenses were erected and the position became impregnable. And now having exhausted every hope of undoing what has been done they come forward and announce their defeat and the Republican victory, and accept the situation in all its bearing quite as fully as do Republicans.

We announced in the first issue of this paper more than a year ago that party issues were dead; in short that there were no lines of demarcation to distinguish parties. One evidence after another of this has been given from time to time until the full truth is now developed. Still it is asserted that the Democratic party is not dead. Those who can obtain comfort from such a position are certainly entitled thereto. It is a very small thing that satisfies them.

But what is to be the contest, or is there for once in the history of the country to be but one party? Will the Republicans, now that the Democrats have been educated up to the advance they took, take another step ahead and thus continue in the advance? It would be a most singular contest, with nothing to contend for; or rather for two distinct parties to contend for the single position.

The truth of the matter, however, is, that the Republican party has not covered all the position they assumed. They erected a broad platform of equal citizenship and then denied the right of one half of all the citizens to occupy that platform and when they attempted to step thereon, they coolly informed them there was "no admission." Either the Democratic or the Republican party must make this further advance, and from the platform they both now strive to occupy, remove the notice of "no admission for woman citizens." If either have the wise foresight to do this, that one will be entrusted with the duty of administering the people's government, which these new comers will insist that it shall be.

If neither have the wisdom to make this advance then neither are fit to be entrusted with the government and it will be necessary for the denied citizens, and all who are disaffected, to organize a people's government over the heads of these mere pretenders to Democratic Republican Representation.

Good behavior is the password until November, 1872. We shall have so much purity in high places that we shall look back to the fleshpots with longing. Piety is awfully dry work. Radical Washington gives us patriotic profession, peace and good-will. Democratic New York points to public works, careful administration, repression of rowdiness and her council of four. Economy everywhere! Great knaves passed; little knaves pulled. Virtue above par! Happily it is only for eighteen months. The people can bear it, if the politicians can.

God makes the realization of any trial less than the anticipation, by showing us the line of beauty that follows his hand, but which we too often deem a chance gleam.

A NEW GOVERNMENT AND THE COSMOPOLITICAL PARTY.

NO. VI.

MONEY, FINANCE, EQUILIBRIUM.

Money, then, is a term used to designate a certain convenience, that people invented, and still require, to be representative, and to stand in the place of real wealth. The notes of incorporated banks are the money of the persons owning the stock of the bank, and are never representative of what they profess to be because the amount of such notes in circulation is always greatly in excess of the value of the basis upon which they are uttered; with this reservation to the proposition: That all loans made by the banks in which the notes of the bank are paid out are supposed to be secured by the indorsed paper of the person to whom the loan is made. It is well-known, however, that when banks are compelled to suspend, these securities are often found either wholly or in part to be worthless. Perfunctory directors or incapable management thus rob the people who take such notes having confidence in them because the banks uttering them are supposed to conform to the necessary laws of security enacted by the government. Strict justice would compel government to make good all such losses.

But a national currency—the money of the people—themselves in the aggregate the basis and security, would be open to no such operations of designing or incapable persons. There could never be loss sustained by any holder. It could be laid by for a hundred years and when brought out for use it would still be the money of the people and representative of the wealth of the people. Undoubtedly the greenback is the nearest approach to a real money that was ever made use of. We have only to observe how admirably it has answered the purposes for which the people require money, to become convinced that it has the very best, the most secure basis that it is possible for a currency to have. It not only has all the gold wealth of the country as its security, but it has all the other kinds of wealth which the country produces, besides. It is so difficult to divorce from the minds of the people the idea that gold is the only real money there is. Yet the fact of the greenback stands out in bold relief completely disproving the supposition. Because the country never resorted to a real money currency before, the impression is left upon the people that there must be a return to the gold standard, and they never stop to observe that the wealth standard is as much superior to the gold standard as the amount of wealth is superior to the amount of gold.

Bank note currency always carries along with it the idea of redeemability, and whenever there is any thought among the people that the banks cannot meet their promises to pay, at that very time, when of all others confidence is demanded to avoid ruin, they rush to prove the incapacity of the bank. This idea of redeemability is the one that most requires to be divorced from money. Money—real money—should never need to be redeemed. Anything that requires to be redeemed is unworthy the name of money. The very fact that it requires to be redeemed is the complete proof that it is not money.

For the idea of redeemability then should be substituted that of convertibility. A real money should at all times be capable of being converted into that of which it is representative. And here we arrive at the last analysis of a real money. It will readily be seen how completely a national currency meets this argument. It is representative of the productive capacity of the country, and can always be converted into whatever portion or kind of its products are required; or into the products of other countries which have been acquired by the direct exchange of our own products. What more than this can be demanded of money; or what better thing can be invented than the one proposed; or what more capable of inspiring and maintaining an even and legitimate confidence? A national currency being the best money, because it is not only the most convenient but also the most secure, there remains nothing to be done except to persistently urge the people to a consideration of their needs until they shall be brought to conviction. There is no difficulty in arriving at all the initial points necessary to determine the amount required, how it should be distributed, and how its circulation should be regulated. These should be governed by the already well-known and understood principles of finance. But there is one thing which is absolutely necessary to make money meet all the requirements and at the same time to maintain a fixed and absolute value at all time and under all circumstances, which money never has had, and from the lacking of which have come all the various financial convulsions. But how shall money be measured so that the same fixedness shall attach to it that attaches to everything else with which we have to do? Money itself has always been considered a measure of value; and it is this false, foundationless position which has been assigned gold as money which has made all financial discords, irregularities, and inconsistencies possible. Does it appear to be a strange proposition that money should have a measure? Why should not a dollar be just as absolute as a pound is as a pound; or as a foot is as a foot; or a gallon as a gallon; and why should there not be a measure to determine this? A cord of wood contains one hundred and twenty-eight solid feet, or eight cord feet. It must always be eight feet in

length four feet long and four feet wide, or some other multiples of four hundred and twenty-eight. A cord can never be any more and never any less. And the same rule applies to anything else, even time space and motion. A yard-stick is a yard-stick, and it is of no use to say that it is not. But every body has a different view with every different standard, and so that many a man's wish is what he has brought out of his pocket, and prosperity has really brought the world to this.

It does not seem to me that there are more yards of cloth at one time than at another, provided that y sticks are all of the same length.

But what would concern us would be this: That if with increase of the quantity of cloth the length of the yard-sticks should increase proportionately; or with the decrease of the quantity of flour the pound should decrease in like proportion therewith. Now this is just what has always been true of money. Its real value increases and decreases, just in proportion to these things, which it professes to measure have increased or decreased in quantity. Instead of these things being exchanged or converted into something measured by as fixed a standard as they are, the attempt is made to measure them by something which constantly increases and decreases in representative capacity. In other words a dollar is not at all times one and the same thing. Sometimes it is but seventy-five cents; and sometimes a dollar and a half. That is to say that seventy-five cents at one time possess the same representative power that a dollar and-a-half does at another time, which is in substance to say that money has no measure. Now what is desirable and indispensable is to give money a fixed measurement, which shall be just as absolute in its measure of the value of money as the pound is in its measure of weight; or as the yard-stick is in its measure of distance. There never is any more cloth, though there be a thousand more yard-sticks. Nor is a yard-stick ever any longer or shorter, if the quantity to be measured is increased or decreased a thousand fold. Now just to such a fixedness must money be reduced before it will subserve its best purposes and uses, and the only way this can be done is by that method which will also remove the only possible objection there can be brought against such a national currency as is proposed. This objection is that by over issues of currency its value would, or might be depreciated.

Let it be supposed that the country's extremest need to meet the demands of the greatest amount of trade is a billion dollars currency. At certain times there are greater and less demand for money, which, under our present practices, makes a dollar, to-day, worth four per cent. per annum interest, and to-morrow increases it to ten per cent. It must be remembered that we are now speaking of an irredeemable currency, the representative of the wealth of the nation: that the government representing the nation has uttered it, in behalf of the people, upon the soundest and, in reality, the only sure basis of value any money can have—the productive power and capacity of the nation. An over-issue, then, is the only thing to be guarded against. The government must be prohibited by some absolute law from resorting to the process so well known in railroad management as the "watering process." And this is to be accomplished in the following manner: This currency—this money; must be made convertible into a national bond, bearing such a rate of interest while in the hands of the people as shall be determined upon as "the true measure of value"—say three or four per cent.—which experience would necessarily determine as the true point of balance; and the bond also convertible into currency at the option of the holder.

The operation of such a system can be very easily traced. Whenever there should be so much currency in circulation that it would be worth less than four per cent., the surplus would at once be invested in the four per cent. interest-bearing national bond; and when business should revive and the demand for money to transact it should make money worth more than four per cent., then bonds would be converted into currency again until the equilibrium should be re-established. And whenever the demand should be such that all the bonds would be converted, and money still be worth more than four per cent., then the government should issue enough to produce the equilibrium.

Thus it is seen that the four per cent. or the three per cent. interest-bearing national bond becomes the fixed measure of value for money.

It would always be worth just that amount—never any more; never any less. An oscillation would be perpetually maintained; first, conversion of currency into bonds; next, conversion of bonds into currency; and whenever the supply of currency should be deficient, then the issue of more by the government to meet it. Thus there would be a people's money regulated to financial equilibrium, which is the *ultimate* of convenience for exchanging the products of industry.

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

JUDGE DOWLING thinks it illegal to fight, so he sentences Collins and Edwards to fine and imprisonment; but he thinks it immoral and mean not to fight after a match is made. Fellows that cheat the public of their just expectations are thus talked at by that truly American Judge: "You, Edwards and Collins, showed some spirit and courage in fighting as you did; but that big loafer Coburn and that other man were too cowardly to do so, after drawing the eyes of the whole world upon us."

INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS vs. THE RIGHTS OF THE COMMUNITY.

THE TEST OF GOVERNMENTAL CONTROL.

THE APPLICATION TO SOCIAL ORDER.

NO. VII.

Individual sovereignty is the basis of all just government. Individual sovereignty is but another name for personal freedom. A person cannot be a sovereign unless he be free, and every free person is a sovereign.

Freedom, however, is most grossly misunderstood—most grossly misrepresented—since that which would encroach upon another's personal freedom becomes tyranny. While a person is free, claiming all that legitimately belongs thereto, he must remember that what he claims is equally the right of every other living person. The earth revolves among other worlds, free to all that belongs to itself, but it cannot, and does not, encroach upon the same freedom exercised by every other planet. What is true of the planetary system is also true of system of humans. But when humans attempt encroachment, or go beyond the limits of their "orbit," they meet resistance. And this is the disorder and confusion which exists.

In all the movements in nature there is a natural expression of the inherent power. That is to say, the governing power is that order which comes from the natural action of existing force. When one power in nature is met and neutralized, or overcome or appropriated by another apparently distinct power, people do not recognize that there has been any law violated—any transgression of divine command—although the divine law is as much resident in the objects below the human as it is in the human.

Everything in nature possesses its peculiar and distinct individuality. And this individuality is as completely recognized by other individualities as is that of humans. People make a great mistake when they suppose that they are so different from everything that went before them in nature as to be the objects of entirely distinct governing powers. The law of gravitation, of attraction and repulsion which controls the elements of which the human is composed, must also control the human.

With this important distinction and addition: so far as human analysis can penetrate, there is no organized being below a fully developed human which possesses a principle of life superior to the organization which it inhabits. It is not only generally admitted, but positively demonstrated, that the real man—the thinking, reasoning, memorizing power—is not the material body, and that while the body is continually undergoing change—positive disintegration and integration—this the real personality undergoes but the process of integration—is always acquiring. That while he passes from one set of conditions to other and higher he does not throw off the past, but retains its experiences in memory as a part of the individuality. In fact the individuality consists in the main of these gathered experiences.

Here we come to the most important of all facts relating to human experience: That while every human being has his own individuality, and is entitled to all the rights of the sovereign over it, it is not recognized that no two of all the different individualities are made up of the same self-experiences, and that consequently no two can be controlled by the same law to the same purposes. In this failure to distinguish this fact comes the selfishness which says, "My ways and my laws are better than the ways and laws of anyone else, hence I will proceed to enforce them upon all other individuals." Everybody forgets, in claiming the freedom of which they prate so much, to permit everybody else to enjoy the same, and they in their wisdom proceed to form laws to control everybody, when their freedom only permits them to frame laws to protect themselves. No person or set of persons less than the whole number of persons controlled have any right to frame laws to govern, but they have the right to protect and defend themselves. Neither have they any right to enact penalties for the breaking of any law which they shall frame to control those whose individualities resist its operations, and are not in harmony with its provisions.

It must not be overlooked or ignored that the human mind is constantly changing—growing, for all change to it is growth, whether the expansion is so-called good or ill—therefore, a law which meets all the demands and exigencies of to-day will be utterly inadequate to meet the demands of to-morrow, because of the change in the conditions and circumstances of the individuals to be controlled. Here, again, is seen the truth early announced, that those things which belong exclusively to the person are not legitimate subjects of legislation. Nevertheless they are made the subjects of legislation because, as before stated, those who legislate assume that the laws they frame are the best laws for all individuals. They assume to say, in effect, that "I do not require a law making theft punishable, for I shall never steal, but I have not got the same confidence in my neighbors that I have in myself, hence I will frame such a law."

And most emphatically they say in their legislation that they are seriously alarmed regarding the domestic relations of other people—of their own they have no fear. Theirs would remain the same with or without law, but there are their neighbors; they are afraid of them, therefore they will compel them whether they would or not.

TENNIE C. CLAFLIN.

FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

The time has come when it is a necessity to the welfare of the people to openly denounce our monetary system, which is but a scheme to swindle the public under a fictitious name. What do our bank institutions do for the people that they should pay twenty-four million dollars annually to add to their earnings? They found the government the money needed in time of national peril. Very well. Was it not their duty so to do? The government had the right to exact all this; but instead of doing so the banks were induced to take bonds at unusual discounts, knowing as they well did that the time would come when the bonds would be worth par, and they make, beside the interest, all this profit.

It is no wonder they were anxious to become National banks, nor any wonder that they desire to continue to be National banks. These banks, however, would do well to stop in their mad career for gain, and remember that while they rendered the country the service needed financially, that the common people also rendered the country a still greater service. While these persons who represented the banks loaned the government money, the people tendered their lives, and that, too, without demanding any extraordinary inducements in the shape of future profits. Freely they tendered their lives and freely surrendered them on many a blood-stained battlefield, while these others remained at home in ease and luxury, never feeling the terrible shock of battle, hearing the screaming shell, the rattling grape, or the whistling bullet, and never shutting their ears to the groans of the dying or the shrieks of the wounded, which filled the air with horror.

And yet these banks never cease to sing their own song of praise—that to them belong the glory of having saved the country. The real state of the case should determine a course of action entirely different from what they imperiously demand. They should be stripped of their privileges to rule the people, who rendered so much greater services than they, and who now demand that they shall be compelled to surrender their bonds for just what they paid for them. What if they did make the venture and run the risk of having the worthless bonds of a destroyed country upon their hands? Would they have been any better off had they withheld the required aid and let the country go by default? Their only hope was to sustain the government as they did, as it also was the only hope of the people to sustain the government as they did. If this matter is viewed in its proper light these banks have no superior claims upon the people, but rather that the people have the superior claim upon the capital of the country for having been chiefly instrumental in preserving its freedom and strength. If the people can be brought to give this matter the consideration its magnitude warrants, they will demand of the government the restoration of their rights; the abolition of the National banks and the return to a sound National currency. And we shall never cease to keep the subject before them until they comprehend the situation. Of what use, in this country of freedom, where the government is the people—or should be—are banks of issue? They serve but one purpose, and that is to assist monopolies at the expense of the general people. We have had sufficient experience with a National currency to have established the fact that it meets all the necessities for which money is required. Why, then, should a few favored individuals be maintained in a position to compel the people to pay to them the immense profits which enable them to make their very remarkable dividends, and which if paid to the government for the same privileges, would maintain it without any other taxation? Have the people ever thought of this matter in this light? What we aim at in all our labor is to lessen the burdens of the laboring people, who eventually are compelled to pay all these unnecessary and exorbitant charges upon the industries of the country. We do not care for the abuse heaped upon us by the few. We believe in and practice the true democratic theory, "the greatest good of the greatest number," and desire to expend all possible effort in attracting the attention of the people to these immense but unnecessary drains upon them. The laboring people of this country are subjected to every possible imposition that they can endure, and those who watch their strength, and temper their exactions to it, know the power they possess, and while they contrive the next scheme to tighten their grasp, warn their victims of those who would reduce them to the condition of the pauper labor of Europe, by their mischievous plans to de-throne monopolies.

The people must learn that every species of legislation which tends to grant privileges to the few who possess capital, is an indirect way of reducing them to bondage, whether such legislation is for the "protection of home industries" to favor corporate monopolies or to subsidize internal improvements. It is high time that general knowledge of the principles of finance should be diffused among those who bear the burdens of government. And we should fail in our duty did we not continue to sound the alarm.

WIDOWS' PENSIONS.—Many claims for pension are awaiting action by the Pension Office at Washington because of some trifling lack of evidence to substantiate the title. The widows of soldiers are among the claimants, and but little satisfaction is granted them by the government. A little activity on the part of the "Department of the Interior" in this regard would help many a needy person waiting their justly-entitled pittance from the government.

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL AND FREE LOVE.

We hope our readers will not be surprised to find our relation to the *Suffrage* movement, as we expect to survive both the truth and the lies which may be circulated to our personal disadvantage, as well as that of the cause we advocate in our own right, and as the organ of any sect or party. Our paper is intended as an organ of untrammeled thought, on all questions affecting human weal or woe. Female Suffrage is one of these questions, and for that reason it is freely canvassed. As all truth is unitary—as no fact can contradict any other fact—so all true reforms should go hand in hand. Whatever is wrong in our politics, religion or social system is a legitimate matter for discussion, pro and con, freely and fully, so that all honest minds may have the advantage of both sides. We do not believe in official organs, and therefore desire to see each stand or fall on its merits or demerits. One of our avowed purposes is to discuss and analyze our social system. In doing so, we do not presume that any Suffrage Society shall accept and endorse our utterances on this particular branch of reform; but as far as our arguments are logical on the Suffrage question proper, they will have their legitimate effect on honest minds, and nothing but prejudice can prevent it.

If any of our jealous contemporaries are anxious to compare circulation, we are ready to make good the allegations of the *Tribune*. But we are not willing that they shall bolster up their pretended purity by charging us with crimes and vices existing only in their distorted imaginations. Here is where we enter our protest. It is not true that our paper is "devoted to the advocacy of social theories subversive of every recognized principle of private morality and public order." But suppose that the recognized theories of private morality are as false and unjust as those of "public order," which Mrs. Livermore is trying to correct, what then? Is it the recognition of a falsehood that converts it into a truth and makes it obligatory on society? If not, then what wrong can there be in discussing and exposing social fallacies any more than the fallacies of "public order"—rather public disorder? If we are wrong, what shall be said of the following, which we quote literally from the *Woman's Journal*: "If the secrets back of the early deaths of young wives and mothers, which are appalling in numbers, could be revealed—and we are hastening to a time when there will be an unavailing of these secrets, which we shrink to contemplate—it would be seen that we are mildly hinting at perpetually enacted tragedies, secret, social and domestic, which are enough to sadden angels." And there is a "vast amount of this social missionary business to be done in this country." Bravo for the "Boston, Chicago and St. Louis *Woman's Journal*!" Wherein lies the difference? We have stepped in advance, and are now doing this work, while our friends of the *Journal* are only intending to do something in the remote and uncertain future. This and only this. And still the appalling secrets and deaths go on multiplying, while these pure-minded women are working up a solitary idea and separating questions which naturally belong together.

That we may be thoroughly understood, we will say that we advocate a higher and purer social morality than was ever conceived of by our defamers. We doubt very much if these canters have the faintest idea of the exalted purity of conjugal relations based on a love that is stronger than law or life. We teach that all conjugal relations, not based on genuine and reciprocal love, are base and vile, and no law, human or divine, can sanctify that which God condemns and honest souls abhor. We teach that the production of children from such conditions is a sin against our souls, our bodies, the children, and a curse to society. We teach that sustaining conjugal relations without the ingredient of natural love, is simply legalized prostitution.

Yea, and more: We teach that the functions of reproduction were designed for the preservation and improvement of the race, and not for merely passionate gratification; that if parents were true to the intention of nature, the mother would rear her offspring in purity instead of lust.

If this is bad morality—if this is licentiousness, then are we immoral and licentious. And we abide the consequences.

We are opposed to illegal as well as legal adultery. And we can bring the cases by the thousand where women, because of their legal slavery, are the victims of the passions of the vilest and lowest of men, and are murdered by the thousand annually. Unseal their lips—give them the moral protection of society—and such a wail will go up as will shake the very earth and startle the angel world.

It is because we work for these that we are denounced as "free lovers"—they mean *free lusters*, not knowing the difference, so blinded are they by their own ignorance and bad habits.

But what do these praters know of the principles of private morality and public order, that they should adjudge us guilty? How many of them have lived spotless lives in thought, word and deed? We are ready to be stoned to death, and would consider it the highest honor to fall by the hands of spotless purity.

Will Mrs. Livermore or the *Tribune* point to the immorality of our teachings on this delicate subject? We shall wait with impatience for the results of their ethical

analysis of our propositions. Meanwhile we defy the world to show in them the smallest tendency to immorality—indeed, the highest virtue tends to produce the love and vice.

Now if the reader will turn to the *Journal* of May 20, it will find no less than six direct and indirect slanderous attacks on us, for doing just what its own columns teaches should and must soon be done; and thus are the barbs taken from the flying shafts. Would that we could believe that these missiles were propelled by pure sisterly affection—a sincere desire to bless the world and nothing more. But this is impossible. There is so much self-righteousness, self-justification—self-assumption, ambition of leadership, and other transparent discrepancies, that we are forced to the conclusion that there is more of selfishness than love.

We would commend to the editor the careful study of these thoughts, quoted from her own columns: "The love that I cannot command is not mine, let me not disturb myself about it, nor attempt to filch it from the rightful owner. A heart that I supposed mine has drifted and gone. Shall I go in pursuit? Shall I forcibly capture the truant, and transfix it with the barb of my selfish affection pin it to the wall of my chamber? God forbid! Rather let me leave my doors and windows open, intent only on living so nobly that the best cannot fail to be drawn to me by an irresistible attraction." Here is the ring of a true and noble soul that must draw "irresistibly" kindred souls to itself. This is all we have asked or ever expect to be realized by our ideal womanhood—our perfected social system: the law of love, supreme above all selfishness, drawing to itself irresistibly, and holding by its supreme power heart to heart and soul to soul in deathless embrace.

Will our traducers, who have so little practical love, or even Christian charity toward those who dare to disagree with them on social and religious questions, tell us what true love is, and what the sanctifying element of legal marriage? Do they understand "Free love as it is taught by those who honestly believe that no relation is holy without it? Can they tell us the difference between the pure love of a pure soul, and the impure lust of loveless conjugal relations? And if they cannot answer then let them keep their peace on subjects for which they are disqualified by ignorance, prejudice, bigotry, intolerance and selfish ambition! And let every honest soul say Amen! Amen!

GOD'S LAWS vs. THE ENACTMENTS OF MEN—

WHICH?

The present is wrought with most momentous questions, big with the fate of the future. People have awakened to the conviction that the word Freedom has been imperfectly comprehended. It has been applied solely to the condition of the body. For that to be restricted was slavery. For that to be free was to have freedom reign.

Since the supposed removal of physical servitude, the fact is rapidly gaining acceptance that there still remains a bondage compared to which African slavery was nothing in its deleterious and restrictive effect upon the general people. One-half of all the people are, virtually in the same condition as were the negroes. True, it is not in every instance that they are compelled to devote all their time to muscular labor for their masters, but they are obliged to devote what should be a thousand times dearer to them.

The fact stands unanswerably forth that women, as a class, are dependent upon the sexual relations which they sustain to men for their maintenance. The exceptions to this are those where women are compelled to take care of themselves, which all of them should be, rather than to be enslaved as they are. It is useless for conservatives to cry Free Love! Free Love!—meaning all the time free license!—to drown the cry and to avert the effect of the appeal for Individual Freedom. A growing womanlyness cannot brook the idea of reliance for support upon a man she detests, though that man be her legal husband. The fact that law intervenes does not render the vileness of the relation one whit the less. Relations between people where there is utter indifference is preferable to those where there is actual disgust and hate.

The Bible law that: "What God has joined together let no man put asunder," differs very materially from the law of marriage which says: What man hath joined together God shall not put asunder. The law of nature is the law of God, and no man or woman can disobey it in their souls. They may be compelled to yield bodily obedience to the law of man, but the soul, which receives its law from God, will ever revolt and cry out for relief. The presumption of men, in setting up their ordinances as superior to God's, is past belief. Why do they not go out into nature and there attempt to interfere with her laws? Why do they not command that the sun shall not sip the distilled dew of evening, or the lily be kissed by the first rays of the morning sun? Why do they not enact that the bee shall gather sweets from weeds, and that swine shall fatten upon violets? Yet they have just as divine right to interfere with the natural promptings of these as they have to arbitrate between the natural impulses, the loves, hates and disgusts of human beings.

People have gone mad over the form of marriage and have utterly lost sight of its spirit. Like most of the religions of the day, whose forms and ceremonies are all there is of them, the spirit of which departed long since, the form of marriage has risen to supreme importance. It matters not to the

law whether two hearts are joined of God or not, so that the law is sufficiently strong and defiant of God's formula to hold them externally united. The soul, the heart, the affections cannot be bound by human acts. These will obey the law of God and fix themselves where it compels. The law that thus tramples upon the sacred sentiments of the soul and compels its subjects to the infamous hypocrisy of pretension where there is no reality is a shame and a disgrace to a people so loud in their professions as followers of Jesus as is this.

The relations of the sexes are not maintained simply that sexual relations may be exercised. These relations are for the purpose of reproduction, and anything which looks to aught less than this as the end to be gained by marriage is false to the first principles of the relation. Therefore, the whole system of legalized marriage is false. The real marriage, the joined of God, would still continue were every legal statute repealed. Only such as God hath not joined together would separate were the legal restrictions removed.

It is an infamous libel upon humanity that caunting hypocrisy utters when it says: "Oh, you want to make all women prostitutes, do you?"—the evident intimation being that if women were not held by the law they would all descend to prostitution. Do men mean by this that their mothers, wives, sisters and daughters are so weak and predisposed to vileness that they would at once turn into the streets as common things? Is this the reverence men have for women? Is this that high standard of purity which men profess belongs to the sex?

It seems to us that men apply to women precisely the conditions and character which they practice: for it is known that while men will not listen to the removal of the restraints upon women, they do not hold themselves bound by one of them; but, on the contrary, practice every inclination to which their natures tend; and that, too, according to their own interpretations, in the lowest and most debased forms. "Oh, no," say they, "we do not assert that anybody connected with us would become degraded were marriage laws annulled, but you know there are so many who would."

How can any know that "so many would?" It is only the "I-am-holier-than-thou" kind of people who pretend to believe that women would be any worse, or that men could be. These objectors do not need any law to compel them to behave themselves, but they think everybody else does. And this is the sum and substance of the opposition to the inauguration of God's marriage laws, and the reasons assigned why the law enacted by men should be enforced, when it is known that the first cannot be suppressed, though the last be enforced with never so much severity—the direct and legitimate result of which being the deception and hypocrisy now so widely spread and practised under the cloak of respectability.

Women, however, are beginning to rebel against any restrictions which compel them to maintain sexual relations with the man who satiates himself at houses of prostitution, or with his several mistresses, and then returns to his home to complete his beastiality with his wife. Go into the thousand houses of ill-fame in this city, and learn from their keepers that it is the married men upon whom they rely for support, and then attempt to deny the proposition if you can. If it is prostitution for men to mingle promiscuously with women, is it not equally so for women—wives they may be—to maintain sexual relations with these men? What women begin to claim is that no law can hold them—and that no law should hold them—bound to such circumstances, and that to attempt to do so is to violate their sense of purity, and to degrade the holy mission of free love to the plane of a degraded promiscuousness—to free lust.

Individual freedom means the right to act up to the very highest convictions of duty without suffering restraint from laws which no government has the right to impose. It is to come as nearly as may be into accord with the laws of God and nature, as expressed in each personality. The innate tendency of universal man is to the good. Man is not totally depraved, but precisely the contrary; and when thrown individually upon personal honor, will more frequently obey the higher impulses of his nature than when under compulsion.

And, therefore, it is that in matters which pertain to contracting individuals no government has the duty to interfere. But the objector further attempts to maintain himself by turning from the parents to the children, and saying that for their sakes, if for no other, marriage laws should be rigorously enforced. To this we shall, at another time, proceed to show there are really greater objections than those which relate specifically to parents.

The humane and gallant Burgh, in his devotion to the rights of animals, is especially vigilant in respect to female animals. He will let a man up, sometimes, who abuses his bull; but to the man who abuses his cow, he is merciless.

There is a man down east so thin, physically, that he can't cast a shadow. The number of persons who are so thin, mentally, that they can't cast a shadow, is not to be counted.

Perkins says he went to see the Rev. Dr. Osgood the other day and the good man looked as if he were waiting for a vacancy in the Trinity.

It is proposed that next year New York have two mayors—Oakley Hall for day-mayor and Fernando Wood for night-mayor (mare).

Marriage—*Egoisme a deux.* [Balzac.]

CORRESPONDENCE.

MESDAMES WOODHULL & CLAFLIN:

Having been an interested reader for some time of your excellent WEEKLY, I have followed the argument *pro* and *con* for licensing the social evil and making the way clear and safe for all who wish to run therein. Now, with all due deference to other's opinions, I would suggest that some of our good philanthropists—deed a conveniently located piece of land in the city—say ten acres—for the purpose of erecting thereon commodious buildings with four fronts, and as many separate entrances and gateways, with sentinels at each, to collect, toll and keep out the wrong customers. No. 1 is for respectable gentlemen, whose necessities require them to visit such an establishment, and of course they wish to meet only the most respectable class of its inmates. They being ministers, lawyers, bankers, etc., must pay a correspondingly high price, which money will flow into the city treasury, and go to support the missionaries, nurses, physicians, etc., of the establishment. The second gateway admits only merchants and business men generally, with their clerks, to occupants of their own standing and walks in life—for it is said to be a poor rule that does not work both ways; and if it is well for husbands to visit such places, why not the wives? The third, mechanics, to their set of female mechanics; and the back door for the low, uneducated, ignorant whites and blacks. All must be provided for, to ensure the safety of our wives and daughters at home. Make the institution in this way as safe and inviting as possible, that our husbands and sons can walk therein fearing no evil. Of course, wives would be much happier to know that these members of their families were enjoying themselves in a legalized and honorable way; for are not all laws established by men honorable and just? How many of that noble sex, think ye, would raise both hands in favor of such an institution? And how many wives and daughters would vote for it, if they had the privilege?

But to be serious, my friends, it seems to me dreadful to be even agitating the subject of licensing licentiousness. I had a thousand times rather that liquor selling and drunkenness should be licensed all over the land. The slave of the wine cup is not so degrading or destructive to all domestic love and happiness as the indulgence in licentiousness. What woman had not rather her husband should come reeling home from the saloon, with his sin and shame so stamped upon his brow that she is not to be deceived by him (and although grieved and broken-hearted, loves him still, for she knows he is true to her at heart, and will see his wrong and beg her forgiveness in the morning), than to know or even have reason to suspect that he has been spending his evening at the aforesaid institution, though it were ever so well organized and free from all contagion—yes, even at No. 1. One such visit known to a true, loving wife chills all her affections, and forever after gives her a feeling of suspicion and distrust, and that cord of love which once united them is snapped asunder, and no amount of argument or promises will heal the breach.

No, let every danger be placed in the way—diseases, sickness and death—for now there are some that are deterred from wrong-doing for fear of injury to themselves and those they love. Don't destroy this only barrier, but make the way a thorny one to travel. Do not decide the question of licensing until woman can have a voice and a vote, for are they not interested parties to the question? M. T. H.

Passing by Harlem, N. Y. City, one day last week, my attention was attracted by a crowd of rough-looking men standing in front of the Essex Market Police Court. Upon inquiry I learned that "those Women Brokers were arraigned," and remembering an item published in a morning paper, my man's curiosity was excited, and I passed through the crowd to witness the examination of two women who were obliged to stand in front of about twenty grinning apes, with gaping mouths and staring eyes, impressing a looker on with the idea that they belonged to the tribe from which Darwin derives his theory of species and origin of mankind. One in particular attracted my attention. Standing immediately in the rear of the Judge with his greasy hair, diamond studded shirt-front, bristly moustache, and a mouth capacious enough to swallow all in front of him, which was now and then opened with a loud guffaw, when the attorney for the prosecution asked some delicate question. The parting of his hair tended strongly to impress me with the idea that he was really the offspring of the king ape. I had seen and heard enough to satisfy myself of the bare-faced impudence of the prosecution, and was leaving the room when my sentiments found an echo by a remark from a gentleman who stood at my side. Said he, I was a witness at the trial of Ketcham, the Wall street Broker, accused of forgery; he had an examination in a private room screened from prying and curious persons. This was on account of his wealth, but these women who have ideas which may not be endorsed by all are obliged to come to this filthy place, and plead their case before an assembly of such low, filthy political brutes. "It makes my blood boil," he continued, as we passed up the street, "when I think of the dangers my daughters have to run, from day to day, and I hope and pray that some means may be found to protect by legislation, women from being made mere creatures for the gratification of the beastly natures of undeveloped men." I am an unmarried man, and perhaps over young to understand the theory of properly appreciating the duties of marriage, but my early teachings have never as yet been, and I hope never will, be forgotten. I believe in woman as the greatest gift and most tender plant ever placed on earth, and I shudder at the possibility of such facts as are stated in the following little story, facts which have come under my own personal knowledge:

Fifteen years ago a young man of English birth married a young lady of great personal attractions, belonging to a family of wealth who were opposed to the alliance; but she, believing that she was giving her hand to one who would be loving and kind, consented to a secret marriage, and

announced the fact to her relatives, who took the only course possible—viz: to say nothing.

For a time all went well enough, and not till after the birth of a lovely girl did she realize the nature of the man to whom she had committed the keeping of her life. Language and actions of the vilest kind came to be his constant habit; and her repugnance and dislike growing stronger every day on account of her being obliged to submit to him or suffer his anger, she procured an advertised prescription to prevent the birth of a second child, which caused her death.

Hardly had she grown cold in her grave, when he secured as his prey a young French girl living in the neighborhood, and she, with her shame apparent, went to the house of the sister of the dead one, who had taken charge of the infant, and stated her case. This elegant lady gave her money to go away from the city, and, sending for this man, insisted on his marrying her niece (and the niece of first wife), a young girl of seventeen years of age, fresh from a convent—saying that if he refused, he should not be allowed to visit his child or be any longer supported as he was by this family. To use her own words: "He had disgraced the family, and it was time he reformed."

What a reformation! This niece was ordered to make ready for the sacrifice, and feeling bound to obey her guardian's bidding, a special dispensation was procured, and the ceremony performed. So, under the sanction of the Catholic Church, for five years has this young woman been subjected to the beastly acts of this man, two children having been born, the parentage of which he charges to gentlemen of his own acquaintance whom he has introduced to his home—and even saying that the father of the daughter of his first wife was the father of his present wife. The slavish bondage in which he has kept this second wife is terrible, depriving her of the necessities of life and comfort, even allowing her to go without sufficient clothing, to compel her to submit to him at his desire against what she so strongly resented—beating and kicking her in moments of insane jealousy, and recently kicking her while in a state of pregnancy, so that deformity is expected at the birth of her child. Her religion forbidding a divorce, she is obliged to submit to this treatment, and when complaining to her aunt she is in return beaten by this brutal husband for her reward. From this aunt of his wife's he receives the support which his brain is inadequate to enable him to earn, and while the wife is away in the country nursing her children, he consoles himself in the city at the elegant residence of the family by affiliating with the servants left in charge during their absence in Europe. So this aristocratic aunt who pretends to be so good a Catholic and so chaste a woman, has doomed this young creature to a life of sorrow until death shall intervene. If WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY should penetrate within her saintly chamber she would faint with horror, and would shudder even at the mention of female suffrage. Is there no remedy for such cases as these? If free love or suffrage mean anything that can cure such pestilential diseases, I shall become their most enthusiastic champion in the future. Yours truly,

A FRIEND TO WOMEN.

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY:

According to recognized authority, God prescribed no limits to woman's sphere of action. He placed her on the earth the companion and equal of man—a helpmate.

Instances of woman's physical endurance and capabilities for mental effort above that of the average of men, though rare, conclusively prove nature to be the same liberal and impartial parent, equally generous in affording mental capacity to either sex. Hence woman's equality with man is not only possible, but is made positive by the study of facts. Conventionality cripples nature's generous efforts and makes the mass of women inefficient and untrue to their own great natural capabilities.

If government is a necessity, as men assume it to be, a necessary compact entered into for the highest good of the governed, by which man can be best developed and all his natural rights securely maintained; and if woman is the acknowledged helpmate of man, how can she fulfill that God-appointed mission if she is denied or avoids participation in the laborious duties of a wise legislation? How become a perfect helpmate, without that education and unfolding of her acknowledged latent powers, which an interest in general matters or State polity is calculated to insure.

Custom so controls society that through hereditary claim alone, with no reference to fitness or natural talent, monarchical countries place a woman on the throne in its highest position, unquestioned. How inconsistent then is it for a republican form of government to deny to women eligibility for a corresponding high political position! How strangely inconsistent to refuse to recognize the normal capacity of woman to choose her own rulers in a country where the proclamation of equality in rights is one of its fundamental doctrines.

The Presidency of the United States, unlike the Queenhood of England, however, is no sinecure, but an increasing round of arduous and responsible labors, with all the hindrances of change and personal ambition denying it permanency, that great element of power and incentive to faithfulness.

Woman's right to vote, or to contest even for the highest political position, can easily be maintained where talent precedes descent and intellect so speedily finds its acknowledged level. The legality of woman's right to vote is undoubtedly

sustained by a true rendering of the Constitution, and it requires but determination and fitness for the onerous position to make all cavilling cease by the fiat of established fact. A female President of the United States will once and for ever settle the question, and secure a universal concession of many a mooted point.

God speed the day.

A. C.

(Written for the Banner of Light.)

TRIBUTE TO ALICE CARY.

BY CORA L. V. TAPPAN.

Because the broken lyre-string hath no sound,
The faded rose distills no dewy gem,
Because in stranded shells no pearls are found,
The shattered casket holds no diadem,
We will not weep!
But the lily-bell,
In the dewy dell,
Chimes a mournful knell.

Because the autumn leaf grows brown and aere,
And summer splendors crimson to dull gray,
Because the spring returns but once a year,
And purple fruitage crowns the bloom of May,
We will not weep!
But the violet,
With blue eyes still wet,
Must thy loss regret.

Because the lowly creeping worm can die
And be forgotten, in the mould and rust,
While, Iris-winged, upsprings the butterfly,
To feed on honey-dew instead of dust,
We will not weep!
But the buds of spring,
Must their flowers bring,
On thy bed to fling.

Because the shattered shell prisons no bird,
We look in vain for last year's dear delight;
Above our heads the rustling wings are heard—
The skylark singeth sweetest out of sight—
We will not weep!
When the night is still,
Sings the whippoorwill,
With mournfullest trill.

Happy were they who dwell anear thy heart,
Baptized and blest by friendship pure as thine;
Who drank thy love's clear waters whence they start,
From fountains that flow near the spirits' shrine.
We will not weep!
In the willow vale,
The lone nightingale
Will thy flight bewail.

Thy songs fly after thee like white-winged doves,
Cleaving the higher air where thou dost roam;
Then, slow returning, like thine early loves,
Within the hearts that bless thee find a home.
We will not weep!
But in Love's pure urn
The heart-fires will burn
For thy sweet return.

Now is thy harp attuned to sweeter lays
Than ever thou couldst chant in human speech;
To symphonies of rapture, sounds of praise,
We strive in vain with earthly sense to reach.
We will not weep!
For a lily white
Swings downward to-night,
To chime thy delight.

Thy kindred poets greet thee with a song
Olympus and Parnassus never won.
Drink—drink the glad nepenthe, and grow strong!
We follow thee when earth's dark night is done—
We will not weep!
For an asphodel
Floateth earthward to tell
It is well—'t is well!

OUR DARLING.

BY HESTER A. BENEDICT.

Over the bars of a dainty cage
She bent with a shivering cry and moan,
Toosing her white arms to and fro,
For the door was ajar, and her bird had flown.

Close to my bosom I held the child:
I told her a tale, and I sang her a song;
But the sorrowful wind, and my sorrowful heart,
Echoed her moaning the whole day long.

And ah! from her feverish lips that night
There broke, like the cry of the lone-some sea,
A pitiful wailing that haunts me yet:
"Birdie, my birdie, come back to me!"

Over the snow of a dainty cot
I bent with a shivering cry and moan,
For ah! by somebody's hand, somewhere,
A door was ajar, and my bird had flown.

Deep in my bosom I hide my pain:
I smile for my love, and I sing him a song;
But the tenderest tissues of heart or brain
Are broken with wailing the whole day long.

And at night, at night, from my hungry lips—
Pallid and cold as the dead may be—
A wail floats up to the shore unseen:
"Birdie, my birdie, come back to me!"

—Globe, 47

LABOR AND CAPITAL.

No. II.

As there are three great questions pressing for settlement, so, too, do these questions find their legitimate basis in three great principles which should guide every action of individuals and communities, and by which all results should be tried, and these are: Freedom, Equality and Justice. With the first, the second should be maintained by the ruling of the third, which would be perfect government, since the purposes for which government is organized would be secured to every individual.

Is our government based on these principles, and is it administered according to this formula? If not, why not? What is lacking which is right? and what is superabundant which is wrong? Dismissing whatever relates to political equality and moral responsibility, let us proceed to the consideration of social order; or that special department thereof which includes the causes which result in the present very irregular distribution of material wealth.

Under a government which expresses the will of the people, over whom its functions are exercised, there can be no question to settle between such government and the people. But there is a question to settle between the people and their government, and it must be settled; and this settlement falls upon the present generation to perform. It is to be feared, however, that the principles involved in the controversy are but little understood by the masses who pretend to join in it; that portions of the people array themselves against other portions, without comprehending what is the difficulty which they attempt to represent, and from which they profess to suffer and to desire relief; that while those who do suffer are looking among the leaves and branches of the wrong for its cause, the roots are taking deeper and firmer hold upon the vitals of society, and its trunk increasing to still more formidable proportions; and that before they who suffer become conscious of it, supreme control will have been obtained over them.

But what says the poor laborer: "What right has my neighbor to all his wealth, to produce which he never lifted his hand, while I, who did assist in its production, am, year after year, compelled to continue producing, only to see him obtain all the benefit."

As between them, as individuals, the person may have all right to the accumulations; but between them, as equal members of the community and the community, he can have none; because the rights and interests of the individual cannot properly exist in antagonism to those of the community, of whom all are equally constituent parts. Special rights and interests cannot legitimately exist in, and be maintained at, the expense of the general welfare. The general welfare of a people consists in having the greatest possible amount of happiness, and general happiness is impossible when there is such cause of complaint as the one mentioned.

So long as the general good of the whole is possible, the greatest good of the greatest number is the object to be obtained through government. Whatever the professions of government are, its practices secure the supposed good of the very select few at the direct expense of the common masses.

Therefore it is, that so long as the attempt is made to remedy the ills, of which society has just cause of complaint, by temporary policies, expedient make-shifts and trimming among effects, instead of leaving all these to take care of themselves, and going to the "Root of the Matter," just so long success will not crown its efforts.

THE COLLAPSE of the French commune is matter of rejoicing in as much as it puts an end to barbarity and useless bloodshed. With rare exceptions the press of this country have taken part against the communists and have sided with the Thiers semi-monarchical government. One of the *World's* ablest regular correspondents commenting on the position, does justice to the communists, whom he describes as comprising "the most active, intelligent and energetic minds of the International Workmen's Association," while he asserts that notwithstanding their many and grievous errors, they and they only have been the means of frustrating those schemes of the Versailles, which, now that the communists are subdued, will end in monarchy or imperialism. We may add that the deplorable excesses with which the communists closed the frightful struggle, have been far more than counterbalanced by the Indian massacres that have rendered the Versailles infamous in their hour of success. The insurgent people destroyed property, the triumphant government has destroyed life.

MAYOR HALL's suggestion that policemen in uniform should be allowed to ride free on the city cars, is a good one; also, that conductors should be allowed some discretion in compelling order on their cars. There is much unjust prejudice against conductors. As a class, they are civil and accommodating. Their hours are long, their duties tiresome and the public exacting. Sixteen hours a day, seven days a week, are more than enough. Let the conductors have a show. Twenty-eight millions of passengers a year on the Taird avenue alone, of all sorts. Who would be a conductor?

He who finds not wisdom in defeat or loss must meet again the ill that brought them.

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DRAMA AND MUSIC.

If unceasing zeal and strenuous activity can ensure success, managers ought to be counted happy. Their liberality in the matter of new pieces, their quick changes and profusion in scenic effects and exciting situations are admirable. And yet it is doubtful whether theatrical management, for some time past, has been a paying operation. Rather, indeed, there is no doubt that it is not. The show-frequenting public seek amusement, and only amusement. The period when the play was the chronicle and brief abstract of the time, the glass in which men might see themselves, the public teacher, the justifier of truth, the satirist of folly, has passed away—if, indeed, it ever did exist. It seems most probable that even in the days of the grand poets of the retributive Divine law in human action, the people must have gone to the drama as they went to the games, for pleasure. Æschylus made them weep, Aristophanes made them laugh—but the purpose in either case was the same—a change and relief from the dull mill-horse work of every-day life.

Whether managers do their best in giving us poor stuff instead of high art is a question that doubtless has always exercised the minds of critic and player with us. There is no government intervention, no outside subsidy and the American manager must submit to the public taste for the time being as his sole guide of action.

The Democratic government of New York help denominational institutions, charitable or religious, with grants in aid. How would it do to subsidize Niblo's or Lina Edwins' for the production of a sound Democratic drama. There is an idea! The election is coming on.

Managerial liberality in the matter of sensation gives us change without variety, the same staple all the time. The same meat with different seasoning like Sam Weller's pies. Steamboat explosion, gambling scene, railroad accident, jump from a bluff, gunshot and blue fire, are the grand "realistic" effects.

Where does the realistic and the idealistic begin in the sensation drama? A man's head under a pile-driver or a steam hammer is a very strong bit of realism. The release of the head just before the "thud" comes is the thought that lifts our soul toward the Unknown. To be sure there are play-writers and playwrights; play-constructing is a different process from play-writing. Get a number of strong points, gathered no matter whence; string them together on the thinnest wire of plot and dialogue. The congruity of the events is of no importance. There is no necessary connection between the accidents of life and the actors. Accidents are better than incidents; they are not evolved by a regular process, by gradations of passion development. The same accident happens to the wise man and to the fool. A millionaire may slip up on a banana skin; so may a rag-picker. A President may be drowned at Long Branch; so may a pedlar. This is realism. How came the banana skin just there? That is the ideal treatment. Some millionaire, careless of his fellow-creatures, may have disdainfully flung the exuvia of his four-for-a-dollar tropical importations in the way of the rag picker; or a racially boot-black may have pitched his worthless skin right before the great Buffum Bullion as he was hurrying down to cover his shorts. Bullion's slip was a fall indeed. The rag-picker's was of no account.

These are the relations of wealth and poverty, Capital and Labor in the drama—a touch of Long Strike business. The pedlar might have been fishing out of season. The President's boat might be badly steered; gone on the wrong tack. These moral views are not taught in the theatre as they used to be. A calcium shows up better than a chain of causation. But the moral is the legitimate, and De Walden might give us a touch of it in his next drama. For moral purposes a nigger does as well as a President—in a drowning scene, for instance, either as the other for all practical uses. To this complexion must we come at last. McCluskey, who is good on the "nig," could get more fun out of a drowning darkey—a President would like to have peace while taking his bath.

These incoherent wanderings must be charged to over training—a too long course of "Help," "Horizon," "Kit," "Randal's Thumb," "Jack Shepherd," "Pomp," "Across the Continent." This would break any critic down. Look at the criticisms. The writers scarcely know their own minds. They have lucid intervals, but the periods are so uncertain. The World, for instance, attacks "Rank," slaughters it; stupid, badly acted, hopeless: a few days after swings round the circle, views quite modified, sees things in quite another light, judicious amendments, promising young actor, and so on. The drama and the weather together are very confounding.

Mr. Lester Wallack, in Rosedale and Mr. Chanfrau as a local impersonator—this time, "Kit, the Arkansas Traveller," command the suffrages of the town. To dissent would be ungracious—more than that, it would be unavailing to prove one's stupidity—a blockhead born and don't know it. Kit is perfect. A Mississippi or White River man—as like as peas is to peas. Lester is the one, and only Elliott Gray. Be it so. If ignorance is bliss, its folly to be wise. Let it pass. In "Kit," at Niblo's, there is a young girl who has the stuff that actresses are made of. She walks easily, sits naturally, stands gracefully; a great art critic says to stand gracefully is in itself an art, and declaims musically. Shame to our memory but we have forgotten the young lady's name. She plays Kit's lost daughter. In a better part she will make points.

THE OPERA.—One of the most socially brilliant and financially successful opera seasons that New York has known for many years has just closed, and though we do not mourn a part-d greatness, we will miss the handsome, fashionable audiences and the good-natured, well-meaning company, who did their best and were applauded because of their intentions and not for any individual merit. The community were famished for Italian opera, or this very poor affair would not have gained the good graces of a somewhat fastidious public, and had any other prima donna than Miss Kellogg been offered, the season would have been a failure. Mme. Stanes-

or rather Orlandini, as she has recently married the well-known baritone of that name, is not fully equal to the role she assumes, and her hard, nasal voice is not the most agreeable sound in the world, but she is strong and true, and in concerted pieces is heard to great advantage. Miss Kellogg has added one triumph to another all through the season, and it is difficult to say which was her great effort. She is charming as Annetta in "Crispino," full of fun and coquetry; is faultless as Alice in "Robert," and full of loving sweetness and tenderness, as Marguerite in "Faust," and these three characters are in our judgment her best, if the term may be used where all is so excellent.

The company was weak in contraltos and basses—two parts quite as important as tenors and sopranos—the chorus was sad to contemplate, out of time and tune, and with no idea of acting in general. Their dress and gestures were alike in all the operas we saw.

We are glad Sig. Albites really made money out of his experiment, for the chances were greatly against him, and he deserves the thanks of the community for his bravery in entering a field where defeat has for years been the result. Another reason he may try again with a fuller, stronger company, and he at least will be sure of an earnest and hearty support. A little genuine criticism in the dailies would have been a great gain.

CENTRAL PARK GARDEN.—Now the opera is over and the theatres have become too hot and close for mortals to venture therein after the labors of the day are over, we turn with absolute delight to the entertainments offered at the Central Park Garden by Theodore Thomas and his unrivalled orchestra. The large, airy hall that is cool and breezy, even on the most sultry evenings, and the wonderful music, light and airy and anon classic and deep, are attractions that no sensible comfort-loving and music-loving people can resist, as the crowds that visit there nightly can testify.

This charming resort has for several seasons being growing in favor, and this summer is patronized by the most exclusive and fashionable audiences that have ever visited it. The utmost propriety and decorum prevail, and for those who go only to listen, commodious and roomy boxes have been fitted up, away from the din of the social throng below. The music performed is of the highest order, and every one knows the style in which Thomas offers his choice selections to the public.

On Saturday evening the overture to "Tannhauser" was played with a perfectness and precision that the Philharmonic failed to attain, and the overtures to "Martha" and "Rigoletto" were rendered with great spirit. An exquisite ballet of Schubert's called "Rosamunde" was given with rare tenderness of expression and filled the more aesthetic of the audience with delight. But it is useless to particularize, for each piece was rapturously received and the encores were many.

The Terrace Garden, presided over by poor Jullien's son, is well worth a visit, and ought to gather plaudits and pennies from the east side.

TRUE REST.

If thou should'st fall to find true rest
In earth, thou'lt find it not in heaven;
Here must it dwell within thy breast,
Or thou must temptest-tost be driven.
For what is rest? not indolence
Of body, or of mind, or soul?
Not in the loss of sight or sense,
Not in the grave, our earthly goal.
It is not freedom from the ill,
Which flesh is heir to—sickness, pain,
Malice that wounds or Death that kills,
Temptation's lure or penury's chain.
In vain in nature's solitude
'Tis fondly sought—in hermit's cell,
Where stranger footsteps ne'er intrude—
On mountain top, in silent dell;
It reigns not in the peasant's cot,
Nor in the palace of the king.
It is not found by chance or lot;
'Tis not a partial, birthright thing.
Gold cannot buy, nor valor win,
Nor power command, nor station gain it.
Whatever bears the taint of sin,
Unpurged cannot obtain it.
Thou mayest have beauty, wit and parts,
That shall secure thee vast acclaim,
And be the idol of all hearts,
And gather universal fame;
And by the potentates of earth
Be honored as a chosen guest;
And be exalted from thy birth—
Yet never know one hour of rest.
Thou mayest upon thy very knees
Have gone on many a pilgrimage,
And far exceeded all that men
That ever trod this mortal stage,
In self-inflicted agonies,
All sinful lusts to crucify;
In vain thy tears, and groans, and cries,
Rest by such acts thou canst not buy.
Thou mayest have joined some chosen sect
And given thy sanction to a creed,
And been pronounced among the elect,
And zealous been in word and deed—
Most orthodox of happy chuk at this. He took to coming afternoons; he took an oath he'd ne'er deceive; he took her father's silver spoons, and after that he took his leave.

Dwelling in God and God in us;
From every spot and wrinkle clear,
Safely delivered from the curse;
Incapable of doubt or fear.
It is to have eternal life;
To follow where the Saviour trod;
To be removed from earthly strife—
Joint heirs of Christ, and sons of God,
Never from rectitude to swerve,
Though by the powers of hell pursued,
To consecrate, without reserve,
All we possess in doing good.
It is to glory in the Cross,
Endure reproach, despise the shame,
And wisely count as dung and dross
All earthly grandeur, homage, fame,
To know the Shepherd of the sheep—
By gentle, harmless, meek and lowly;
All joy, all hope, all peace—to keep,
Not one in seven, but all days holy.
It is to be all prayer and praise,
Not in set form or phrase expressed,
But ceaseless as angelic lays—
This, only this, is CHRISTIAN REST.
He who, believing, hath obtained
This REST, shall ne'er be troubled more,
Though round him lions, fierce, unchained,
For his destruction rage and roar.
He may be famishing for bread,
Or be of men the jest and mirth,
And have no where to lay his head,
No spot to call his own on earth;
Temptation with its endless wiles
May strive to turn his feet aside,
And flatter with its treacherous smiles
May hope to flush some latent pride.
He may be hunted as a beast—
As heretic dragged to the stake;
Placed on the rack, Revenge to feast,
And Bigotry's fierce wrath to sear;
Or whether death or hell assail,
It matters not; within his breast
Are joy and peace that cannot fail.
This, only, is true Christian rest.

WOMAN ITEMS.

In Rome there are eight American lady sculptors.
Vinnie Ream has a rival in Ella Noe of Oskaloosa, Iowa.
The Baptists have three colleges for women in Missouri.
Eleven white girls married colored men in Boston last year.
Wattles & Comb is the name of a female legal firm in Kansas.
A Miss Benson is announced from Italy as another American Soprano.
Louisa Holden, of Elmira, N.Y., is announced as a new lady lecturer.
Nearly one-half of the depositors of the Boston savings banks are girls and women.
In July next the Crown Princess of Prussia will publish her book on "Female Labor."

Mrs. Richard Wordell of Westport during last winter cut and corded thirty cords of wood.

Susan Holbrook, in Colorado, has ploughed fifty acres of wild prairie land this season.

Madame Andri Bersani at Florence, has discovered the stitch of the famous Venetian point lace.

The boys of Athol, Mass., were badly beaten in a game of base ball with the girls of the same town the other day.

Another ladies club is in course of formation in London, to be called "The Albert Ladies' International Club."

Mrs. Fawcett, one of England's beautiful women, and wife of a member of Parliament, has taken to the lecture platform.

In Connecticut where they do not fix the ballot boxes, it is proposed that no man shall vote without a certificate of good moral character.

Mrs. B. Gottschalk, formerly of Davenport, now of Pella, Iowa, is carrying on business as a produce and commission merchant by herself, and as ably as any man.

Miss Fowler, a sister of the celebrated phrenologist, is a very successful practitioner of medicine at Orange, New York, realizing from \$15,000 to \$18,000 per annum by her profession.

Laura Schubert, a popular operatic soubrette of Vienna, is engaged to marry the Roumanian Prince Ghika, who is as rich as Dives, and probably as wild as a Tartary horse.

Here is a matrimonial advertisement, cut from a contemporary: "A young lady of exterior and pleasant appearance wishes to marry gentleman of just the same way of thinking."

A Louisville girl, whose lover disgraced himself, told the youth that she could never marry him, but that she had \$2,500 in her own right which he could take and go away and try to redeem his character. He took the money and left.

He took her fancy when he came; he took her hand, he took a kiss; he took no notice of the shame that glowed her happy cheek at this. He took to coming afternoons; he took an oath he'd ne'er deceive; he took her father's silver spoons, and after that he took his leave.

There are eight pin factories in the United States, whose annual production is 2,000,000 packs, each pack containing 3,360 pins, a total of 6,720,000,000 pins. One manufacturer turns out eight tons of pins per week. Hair pins are jobbed by the case. There is but one factory that produces them. They turn out fifty tons per month.

The old definition of a poor Dutch farmer's plough team, an ox, an ass and a woman, met an illustration in Wisconsin where the wife of a Swedish farmer helping to pull the plough was so severely injured that she died in two days. It may be true. Even about New York it is common to see ragwomen drawing a heavy hand-cart with a couple of dogs.

A Virginia lady returning home rather late one evening recently heard a noise in a bedroom, and looking through the keyhole saw the round figure of a woman, upon whose shoulders her husband was adjusting a shawl. Enraged by jealousy she seized a shotgun and, forcing open the door, shot the intruder in the back. Her husband yelled, and she fainted, but when coming to her senses found that she had desperately wounded a dummy which the dry goods merchant had brought home for repairs.

The Woman Suffrage Association of Hampden County held its third annual meeting in Springfield on Friday afternoon and evening. The old officers were for the most part re-elected, including the following: President, Elphalet Trask of Springfield; vice-presidents, Mrs. Mary Leonard, Samuel Bowles, the Rev. J. O. Peck of Springfield, and the Rev. B. M. Fullerton of Palmer; corresponding secretary, F. B. Sanborn of Springfield; executive committee, W. J. Gordon of Springfield and G. M. Fisk of Palmer.

Rev. Gilbert Haven, in the New England Moral Reform Society, said if the social evil was stopped there would have to be a tightening of the lines on the laws of divorce. To loosen them (and he was sorry an attempt had been made to do that in the present session of the Legislature) would be to feed the fountain of licentiousness from the highest seats of legislative authority. Another thing he thought must be done was the equal treatment of both runners, and an attempt should be made to rescue the fallen men as well as the fallen women.

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BY VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

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Such principles as, from time to time, have been enunciated in these columns are here arranged, classified and applied. A careful consideration of them will convince the most skeptical that our Government, though so good, is very far from being perfect.

Every person who has the future welfare of this country at heart should make him or herself familiar with the questions treated in this book. No lengthy elucidations are entered into; its statements are fresh, terse and bold, and make direct appeal to the reasoning faculties.

It is an octavo volume of 250 pages, containing the picture of the author; is beautifully printed on the best quality of tinted paper, and is tastefully and substantially bound in extra cloth. No progressive person's house should be without this conclusive evidence of woman's capacity for self-government. Price, \$30 0; by mail, postage paid, \$3 25.

EQUALITY A RIGHT OF WOMAN.

BY TENNIE C. CLAFLIN.

The object of the author in presenting this book to the public was:

First, To show that woman has the same human rights which men have.

Second, To point out wherein a condition of servitude has been involuntarily accepted by women as a substitute for equality, they in the meantime laboring under the delusion that they were above instead of below equality.

Third, To prove that it is a duty which women owe to themselves to become fully individualized persons, responsible to themselves and capable of maintaining such responsibility.

Fourth, To demonstrate that the future welfare of humanity demands of women that they prepare themselves to be the mothers of children, who shall be pure in body and mind, and that all other considerations of life should be made subservient to this their high mission as the artists of humanity.

Fifth, That every child born has the natural right to live, and that society is responsible for the condition in which he or she is admitted to be a constituent and modifying part of itself.